Narratives of Injustice: Measuring the Impact of Witness Testimony in the Classroom

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NARRATIVES OF INJUSTICE: MEASURING THE IMPACT OF WITNESS TESTIMONY IN THE CLASSROOM

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Can a vivid presentation about a tragic chapter of history elicit in viewers an empathetic reaction, as well as evidence of the telescopic perspective Mills[1] ([1959] 2000) described as the "sociological imagination"? Does the addition of victims' voices make a noticeable difference in their response to the historical event, as well contemporary controversies?

Some scholars propose that oral histories, especially witness testimonies, have the potential to reach audiences more deeply than facts alone. "Narratives," as K. Slobin observed, "unfold with flesh and blood…encouraging empathy, identification and a humanization of content" (in Bochner and Ellis, 1992:171).[2] But, little systematic research has examined how or to what extent personal testimony may encourage empathetic understanding and a broader, more nuanced understanding of social problems. In an era where entertainment content skews toward "reality" programming and technology supersedes face-to-face interactions, the challenge to pierce cultural white noise is great. Educators, then, must figure out ways to counteract the desensitization, apathy and cynicism that follow these trends—but in ways that are proven, effective and lasting.

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[1] Mills, C. Wright. 1959. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford, 2000.
[2] Bochner, Arthur P. and Caroyln Ellis. 1992. "Personal Narrative as a Social Approach to Interpersonal Communication." *Communication Theory* 2(2)165-172. Comment from K. Slobin is listed as a personal communication with the authors in February 1991.

My research sought to discover if victim narratives help students connect intellectually and emotionally with lessons about social justice. Thirteen undergraduate classes were exposed to three variations of a fact-based, multimedia presentation about Japanese internment in America during WWII. Each presentation included the same photographs, newsreel, and factual information. Presentations varied, however, in their use of survivor testimony and in the manner of its incorporation (video versus written accounts). Two groups of the sample were exposed to survivors describing their experiences in the internment camps. All groups completed surveys, and 21 participants gave extensive interviews. Data analysis examined information recall, sociological perspective, emotional response, empathetic identification and predictions of future behavior. The experiment generated much-needed empirical data on the efficacy of testimony and its ability to shape attitudes, broaden world view, and possibly influence behavior. These findings will assist educators in anticipating outcomes associated with various heuristic strategies, especially those including witness testimonies.

This study is dedicated to all those brave enough to tell their story

and

to my mother,

whose love and bravery paved the way for me.

Acknowledgments

The list of people and organizations I wish to recognize is long because I am blessed with many caring people in my life who supported and encouraged me throughout my graduate school journey.

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Thank you to Burt Howell, and to the men and women who built the Intersections Project. You were my first "BC family," and I have many warm memories and gratitude for the enjoyable and caring environment you provided for me during my years as a graduate assistant with Intersections.

Dr. Paul Gray agreed to become my advisor many years ago, and never stopped believing in me and my abilities. Thank you for your consistent support and counsel over the years. I hope that going forward, my work in "the real world"

will make you proud. Dr. Eva Garroutte, your enthusiastic encouragement always bolstered my confidence and your expert editing improved my work. Dr. David Karp, thank you for your advice in the early stages of this work that helped ensure that I would collect solid data, and for the inspiration your teaching and qualitative research provided. Dr. Sara Moorman, I do not embellish the truth in saying that your patient tutoring and oversight of my quantitative analysis was integral to the completion of this study. Thank you all for serving as my dissertation committee. I was blessed to work with you.

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The Graduate Student Association's grant allowed me to offer gift card incentives to recruit interview participants, and the Sociology Department gave me a small grant to kick-start the interview transcription process. The management at The Joshua Tree and Roggie's restaurants donated gift certificates that I raffled off to interview respondents as an extra incentive to share their time with me. I am grateful for this material support.

Densho's Tom Ikeda, Sherry Bard of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Ateqah Khaki of the ACLU, and Dan Napolitano of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum all provided helpful feedback to me during this project.

Thank you to all my friends and colleagues whose enthusiasm, encouragement and love helped get me through this challenging process. Betsey Leondar-Wright, I am so grateful this program re-introduced me to you. Your work at Class Action inspires me, and our talks always energize me. Sandi Nelson, your friendship is a treasure. Thank you! Joanna Murray and Sandra Davidow, your "you can do it's!" cheered me on and gave me much needed support. Dr. Anne Titlebaum, I am so happy to have reconnected with you all these years after high school, and to have run this last lap of our journeys side by side. Your optimism and encouragement helped light the way when the trail was dark. Congratulations to us both!

A final note: Rocky Balboa's iconic image became my visual metaphor for fearlessness and strength, and similarly, Xena helped me channel my inner Warrior Princess during the difficult phases of this project. Eleanor Roosevelt's imperative, "You must do the thing you think you cannot do" kept me charging forward. *Onward!*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Impetus for the study: An American GI in the Elevator and Service Workers on Camera

My hometown of Lexington, Massachusetts is an affluent suburb of Boston steeped in American history. Camera-toting tourists visit the museums and the famous Battle Green, where costumed interpreters explain Colonial life and our victory over the British during the American Revolution. The public school system I attended ranked near the top in the nation in the 1970's and 1980's of my youth. Yet, in spite of these rich resources, my recollection of history and civics education from those years is nearly non-existent. The courses were text book and lecture-driven, following what Watts (2008:186) characterizes as "conventional historical pedagogy"—and did little to ignite my imagination.[1] Only one topic comes to mind when I think back on the whole of high school history: America's Great Depression. I have *no memory* of learning about other defining aspects of US and world history, such as the Vietnam War, slavery, the Holocaust or the Civil Rights Movement. My teachers may have covered these social and historical milestones, but the lessons did not stick with me.[2] Over the years, I gleaned surface knowledge of these events through popular sources such as television, movies and fiction.

[1] Watts (2008) cites research (Chiodo and Byford 2004) that suggests my experience with this approach to teaching is neither unique nor novel.
[2] The years after the war notwithstanding, the Holocaust was only beginning to re-emerge as a topic of public discourse in the 1980's. If this specific topic was not covered formally in my school system, this could explain why.

My undergraduate business major required only one history class, and I chose "US History Since 1865" during the first semester of freshmen year. The course was content-heavy and required the mastery of a large volume of facts, names and dates. When assigned *The Federalist Papers,* I struggled mightily to wade through a writing style so unwieldy and unfamiliar. I remember only frustration; I cannot now recall a single piece of information I learned in that class, in spite of the vast amount of information we covered.[3] I eked out a C+, the lowest grade I would earn in college, and moved on.

By contrast, I have crisp, detailed memories of the content I read, heard, saw, and discussed in a Holocaust course I took as a graduate student. Similarly, I remember much of what I attempted to digest on a three-day visit (my first) to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) around that time. Now, these experiences occurred much later in my life and are thus fresher in my memory, and I pursued them out of sheer interest—they were not a requirement to fulfill. But, I believe something else was at play as well. Both educational contexts supplemented a didactic educational approach with eye-witness testimony, oral history, and visual media. The stories and images resonated deeply and lingered with me. In fact, one specific memory from my trip to the museum has produced a visceral response in me every time I have thought of it throughout the

[3] My experience is in keeping with Watts's (2008:187) opinion that, "while there are benefits to using the textbook-lecture method of teaching (primarily, the dissemination of great amounts of information in one instructional period), this method does have its limitations as well. Students often feel disconnected to the events they are studying and typically get lost in the presentation of so much material at one time."

intervening years. I approached the elevator on the main floor with other visitors, and we received an "ID card" summarizing information about a real person affected by the Holocaust. As the elevator began its climb to the permanent exhibit on the top floor, a video monitor flickered to life overhead. The voice of an American GI began to speak over silent footage taken as he and fellow troops encountered a concentration camp for the first time. The video, in color but grainy and slightly shaky, could not be more than three minutes in length. I do not recall specific images or even what the GI said. I am not haunted by its ghostly images or startling revelations (though I saw and heard plenty throughout that visit that could haunt me). But nearly eight years later, the mere thought of this video sends a chill up my spine and raises the hair on my arms—*every time I think of it*—and I have thought of this experience many times since that day. His matter-of-fact narration as the camera moved about at eye level made me *feel*. Powerfully. I understood, in my gut, the gravity of what I was about to encounter in the museum's permanent exhibit. I have often shared this "elevator anecdote" with colleagues and industry professionals as an exemplar to illustrate the kind of response I would like to arouse in others with my own work. In fact, I would gain first-hand knowledge about the power of video-taped personal testimony sooner than anticipated.

Not long after my visit to the USHMM, I began producing a documentary film exploring the immigrant experience through oral history. Three Boston College

(BC) service workers shared stories from their emigration journeys, their struggles to create a new life in America, and their contemporary lives as US citizens and employees of the university. Once finished, I took the film "on the road" to academic conferences, local film festivals, classrooms, and student events, and witnessed audiences engage with the film. Their questions, comments and emotional reactions, which ranged from tears to disgust to awe, richly rewarded my hard work.

Fortuitously, the release of my film in the fall of 2007 occurred during a particularly contentious time in the national immigration debate. The Bush Administration made many attempts at immigration reform, including a proposed physical barrier between the US and Mexico, but the legislation finally expired in the Senate in June of 2007.[4,5] The Southern Poverty Law Center released a report in December of that year that identified a sharp increase in violence against Hispanics in America between 2003 and 2006.[6] The federal government conducted raids on workplaces suspected of employing illegal immigrants, and the resulting detentions and deportations separated families and decimated workforces.[7] The media reported on inhumane conditions facing immigrants incarcerated in the US.[8] At the same time, immigrants began to flex

[4] See http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5326083.
[5] See http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=11512284.
[6] See http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=17563862.
[7] See, for example, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6636356&ps=rs.
[8] See http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6922992 and http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4170152 and http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5022866.

their collective muscle. In 2006, immigrant communities across the nation organized boycotts, in which they refrained from work, school and commercial activity in an effort to highlight America's dependence on, and the economic power of, the immigrant labor force.[9]

Thus, my film came to light during a time in which the role of immigrants, as well as the rights and freedoms due them, were on the nation's mind. Audiences seemed moved and engaged with the film, and I observed strong reactions in them while they watched. But, I wondered still, would the stories stay with people, on some level, as the American GI has stayed with me? If a person came to the film with anti-immigrant feeling, would the film's stories of hard work, struggle, sacrifice and pride in America open up their mind permanently? Was the audience able to fit the worker's accounts into the broader debate about immigration reform? This research study is inspired by these questions and the experience of producing an educational film around oral histories. Specifically, my dissertation attempts to find out if narrative testimonials, *particularly those detailing experiences of hardship*, generate more than a temporary emotional involvement and remain in the memory of the listener beyond the presentation. Moreover, I wanted to determine if the testimonies of eye witnesses, presented through the "visual oral history" format, influence attitudes in the viewer.[10] A secondary curiosity of mine concerns whether or not the audience member

[9] See http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5372718.
[10] The University of Southern California Shoah Foundation (hereafter, Shoah Foundation) used this term to describe the testimonies of Holocaust survivors they film and archive.

processes the stories within a larger social and historical framework, and thinks about where his/her own story might be located within these same contexts.

Study Focus

The underlying goal of this study, then, is to evaluate the unique properties of oral history generally, and survivor testimony in particular, in the framework of the civil liberties and national security debate. How do the effects of exposure to such testimony in an educational setting differ from those obtained with more traditional, didactic teaching methods? How might the effects of a viewer's encounter with a painful survivor narrative differ from those associated with a less-personalized media presentation? Does the "delivery method" for sharing a testimony make a significant difference, as one might assume? My study sample, drawn predominantly from undergraduate students at BC and supplemented with a small subset from Bridgewater State University (BSU), helped me find out.

Study rationale: Why this topic, with these research participants, and why now?

Today's young adults were children when the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001. By the time they reached college, the country had been fighting two concurrent wars for roughly half of their lifetime, and no certain end to either conflict was in sight. Moreover, America's war practices were continually called into question. From abuses at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo to extradition

and black hole prisons to waterboarding and other interrogation techniques, the news media kept our government's playbook for the "War on Terror" under constant scrutiny. Growing up in this milieu, college students are thus uniquely positioned to comment on the civil and human rights matters that have surfaced since the 9/11 attacks. How do they think about issues concerning national security and civil liberties—especially as they pertain to race and identity?

There is perhaps no more important time to find out. Several controversies related to national security and civil liberties arose while data collection for this study began. At the start of 2010, news media reported that opposition forced the Obama administration to forego intentions to prosecute Khalid Shaikh Mohammed and other alleged 9/11 masterminds in New York City, and to re-evaluate plans to try them in civilian court.[11] As the debate about how to contend with September 11th criminals continued, new terrorists emerged. Law enforcement defused a car bomb discovered in a smoking Pathfinder in New York City's Times Square that spring.[12] Right around that same time, the fight against illegal immigration in America escalated. Arizona passed legislation that brought an already contentious national debate on immigration reform to a boil. In a move that critics called "an open invitation for harassment and discrimination against Hispanics, regardless of their citizenship status," the bill required immigrants to carry documentation on their person (or face misdemeanor

[11] See http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/nyregion/30trial.html?pagewanted=all.
[12] See http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/03/nyregion/03threat.html?_r=1&hp.

charges), and extended the powers of local law enforcement. Police were allowed them to ask for immigration papers and arrest persons based on suspicion of illegal status alone.[13,14]

Against this distressing backdrop, recent studies found that Americans, college students and adults alike, are alarmingly ignorant of history and civics. Perhaps worse, our institutions of higher learning are "found to have zero influence" on political and civic participation beyond merely voting.[15] Not surprisingly, Americans scored substantially higher on questions about musicians, reality TV stars and sports figures than on questions about American history.[16] Rather than shame or discouragement, the American public seems to find this deficit entertaining. By 2010, the quiz show *"Are you smarter than a 5th Grader?"* was in its fourth season, and enjoying popularity. The show's producers were nominated for a Daytime Emmy award in 2010, the show earned nominations for People's Choice, Kids' Choice and Teen Choice awards between 2008 and 2009, and won a Family Television Award in 2007.[17]

Researchers also found that our leisure activities contribute to a decline in civic knowledge. The Intercollegiate Studies Institute found that "all else remaining

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[13] See http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/24/us/politics/24immig.html.
[14] Many of these issues came up in the interview discussions.
[15] See "The Enlightened Citizenship" report by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute/American Civil Literacy Program, http://www.americancivicliteracy.org/2011/summary_summary.html.
[16] See "The American Revolution. Who Cares?" Report by the American Revolution Center, http://www.americanrevolutioncenter.org/sites/default/files/attachment/ARCv27_web.pdf.
[17] See the show's page on the Internet Movie Database website, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0958228/.

equal, a person's test score drops in proportion to the time he or she spends using certain types of passive media."[18] And yet, our engagement with media continues to grow. For example, in 2009, media research firm Nielsen found in 2009, "the average American watches approximately 153 hours of TV every month at home" which represented a 1.2% uptick from the previous year. Usage of the Internet and video usage had also increased.[19]

Scope of study

After choosing my topic, I was able to narrow my study in several ways. While I originally considered several types of schools, I limited my study population to BC. Rather than recruit from all academic departments within the university, I decided to concentrate on sociology students. I then conducted in-depth interviews with a subset of survey-takers, constituting 15% of the sample. My research goals were specific: I sought evidence of an empathetic perspective and a sociological outlook, participants' views on a limited number of civil liberties issues, and their knowledge/opinion of a controversial issue in American history. Follow-up conversations with those selected for interviews helped me understand each respondent's ideological standpoint, personal biography (and a possible relationship between the two), and how much of the presentation they remembered.

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[18] See "Our Fading Heritage" report summary, specifically, "Television—Including Television News—Dumbs America Down," http://www.americancivicliteracy.org/2008/summary_summary.html.
[19] See "Americans Watching More TV Than Ever; Web and Mobile Video Up Too" http://blog.nielsen.com/nielsenwire/online_mobile/americans-watching-more-tv-than-ever/.

Why Japanese internment?

I knew that I wanted my research to help a non-profit organization. Since my previous scholarship centered on Holocaust education and I knew of large-scale archives of survivor testimonies, I considered a project that involved WWII narratives and people's responses to them. Conversations with representatives of the Shoah Foundation, The Veteran's History Project and the USHMM revealed that these organizations, in fact, have very little empirical data on which to rely.

As I attempted to figure out how exactly I might work with one of the aforementioned groups, a colleague introduced me to a lesser-known organization, Densho: The Japanese Legacy Project, which collects video testimonies from Japanese interned in America during WWII. Executive Director Tom Ikeda was genuinely interested in my research question, and how my findings might help his organization. Due to his interest, and Densho's rich digital archive and existing educational material, a partnership between us made good sense.[20] Additionally, the subject of Japanese internment kept my focus on the WWII era that interested me, is not as well-known and is less a part of the cultural consciousness than the Holocaust. I hoped this factor would help me avoid bumping into pre-conceived notions among research participants. Perhaps most importantly, the tragedy of Japanese internment has resonance today, in a way that the Holocaust does not. Pearl Harbor was the first major surprise attack

[20] Incidentally, Dubrow (2008) notes that Densho's team followed the lead of filmmaker Steven Spielberg, founder and Honorary Chair of the Shoah Foundation, when determining their technical approach for archiving testimony.

on US soil, and 60 years later, 9/11 was the second. Our nation's response to it, not only the government's official response, but the attitudes and actions of many ordinary Americans, generated many uncomfortable similarities. Again, we saw hate crimes, prejudice, and fear, but this time aimed against brown people instead of yellow people. Our government was accused of curtailing the civil liberties of many citizens and non-citizens alike—Arabs , Muslims, South Asians and others—in the wake of that attack, as well as the rights and freedoms of all citizens through legislation such as the PATRIOT ACT, which greatly expanded the government's surveillance powers. There have also been accusations of human rights abuses of detainees in Guantanamo and other prisons—and these controversies have only continued over the years.

Study plan

This dissertation uses a quasi-experimental design and seeks to gather opinions from college students about a variety of civil liberties issues, and to test whether or not their beliefs are influenced by the voices of Japanese whose civil and human rights were sacrificed to "national security" in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. The design is "quasi-experimental" because the treatment groups used are created with existing groups (college classes) i.e., control and treatment group membership is not assigned randomly (Creswell 2003). A multimedia presentation about that tragic chapter of American history is the "stimulus," or independent variable, and used along with a 19-question survey.

Participants were exposed to three variations of the same PowerPoint presentation. (See Appendix A for printouts of a sample presentation and narration script.) Each version of the presentation includes the same photographs, government newsreel, and facts about internment. Presentations varied, however, in the use of survivor testimony and in the manner of its incorporation: the control version, X, offered a purely factual narrative; version X_1 included eight brief videotaped survivor testimonies; and a third version, X_2 substituted a word-for-word transcript of the survivors' testimonies for the viewer to read.

The dependent variables are the students' opinions, as well as answers to additional questions crafted to determine evidence of an empathetic reaction in them toward unjust circumstances, and several questions to identify the telescopic perspective sociologist C. Wright Mills ([1959] 2000) described as the "sociological imagination." Using this between-groups quasi-experimental design (Creswell 2003) allowed me to test whether the addition of victims' voices to the lesson, and the manner in which their stories are presented, made a statistically significant difference in the viewer's responses. See Figure 1 below.[21]

[21] Adapted from John W. Creswell, 2003, Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 169.

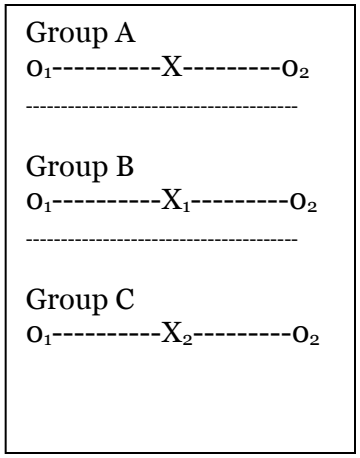

Fig. 1.1: Quasi-experimental design

Statement of purpose

This mixed-methods study analyzed both quantitative and qualitative data. Surveys collected before and after a multimedia presentation on Japanese internment during WWII helped me understand audiences' knowledge and opinion of internment, attitudes about civil liberties issues as they relate to race and identity, and ability to empathize with sufferers of injustice. In-depth interviews with a subset of survey takers worked off the brief profile given out ahead of the surveys to delve deeper into participants' personal biography. The discussion was used to: better understand their survey responses, find out what they recalled from the presentation, learn about how the testimonies affected them, look for evidence of sociological thinking, and see if participation in the study might affect future behavior.

Stakeholders and Beneficiaries

Since I am using material collected by Densho, I consider this organization to be the primary beneficiary of my study data. The majority of their $500,000 operating budget is spent on adding to and maintaining their oral history archive, yet they have very little data on its effectiveness for educational purposes.[22] My data helps identify gaps in the understanding of Japanese internment and its lessons for today. Conversations with management at three national oral history archives revealed a similar lack of research and a desire to answer specific research questions pertaining to viewer experience of visual oral history. I considered their questions when designing the survey. My study will be not only interesting but useful to organizations whose educational strategies rely in any part on narrative testimonials.

I also consulted representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union and the Japanese American Citizens League before finalizing my survey and incorporated their input. These groups, as well as others dedicated to civil rights, immigrants' rights and ethnic minorities (e.g., the American Arab Anti-Defamation League) will find this work timely and relevant. More broadly, educators (classroom and public) focusing on social studies, history, civics, and political science should also be able to use my findings.

[22] Densho Executive Director Tom Ikeda, personal communication, February 25, 2010.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Methodological approach

I chose a quasi-experimental research design (Creswell 2003) because I had a stimulus—survivor testimonies—I wanted to test. Pre- and post-surveys allowed me to find out if the multimedia presentation (and the testimonies within them, presented in two different formats) inspired a change in participants, specifically regarding their knowledge about internment and attitude about a variety of civil liberties issues concerning rights, identity and freedom. I also looked for evidence of a more nuanced sociological perspective after the presentation.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the experiment employs a sequential explanatory design (Creswell 2003). The quantitative and qualitative pieces occur in subsequent phases, not concurrently, and the second, qualitative phase helps explain the findings from the first, quantitative phase. All participants (N=214) completed surveys before and after the presentation while a subset of participants (n=21) were interviewed in depth afterward.[23]

The sample: 9/11's Children

Today's college students are referred to as "Millennials" because they are "the first generation to come of age in the new millennium."[24] Media and consumer

[23] The sample size of 214 is a net figure. Participants who overlapped with my pilot study, or who attended my presentation in more than one class, were eliminated.
[24] See The Pew Research Center's Report, "Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next," page 4. The Pew Research Center characterizes Millennials as the generation of people born after 1980. See http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/02/24/millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change/. There is no universal understanding, however. Expert Neil Howe, co-author of *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*, locates the beginning birth year of this

research firm Nielsen has dubbed them "Generation C" (for "connected") and others, the "Facebook Generation." [25] In addition to their unprecedented savoir faire with media technology, they are distinct in terms of the size and diversity of their population.[26] They also emerged into young adulthood as the first Black president of the United States entered office, a milestone that ushered in hope, enthusiasm and proclamations by some that we had entered a "post-racial" age.

Sadly, this generation is also known as "The 9/11 Generation" because they have grown up in the shadow of the worst tragedy on American soil in recent history.[27] Eleni Towns was a high school student on 9/11 and is now a research assistant at the Center for American Progress. Writing in 2011 around the 10-year anniversary, Towns asserted that Millennials "possess unique insights and views based on our place in history" and referring to findings from a 2009 Center study, noted that they "cite the attacks on 9/11 as the most important influence shaping the attitudes and beliefs of our generation."[28] In fact, the lives of over 3,000 children of that generation were changed forever that day because they suffered the loss of a parent in the attacks.[29] Grief, patriotism and fear swept the nation in the days and months after the event. The Bush Administration launched its "War

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generation at 1982, and the Center for American Progress, sponsor of the report, "The Political Ideology of the Millennial Generation" cites 1978-2000 as the end points.
[25] See http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/09/911_generation.html.
[26] Ibid.
[27] See http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2011/02_young_leaders_singer/02_young_leaders_singer.pdf.
[28] See http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/09/911_generation.html.
[29] See http://nymag.com/news/articles/wtc/1year/numbers.htm.

on Terror" and promoted the "if you're not with us, you're against" mentality, with implications extending from President Bush's call for a "crusade" along the "axis of evil" to a campaign, by some Americans, to rename French fries "freedom fries."[30] The myth of America as an untouchable super power was destroyed. For these reasons, then, I believe that the attitudes and sensibilities of Millennials represent the best reflection of this new age. And, as Towns (2011) points out, as they come of age to vote, these young people will make their imprint on the nation before they have the chance to become our next leaders.[31] We can only benefit from learning about how they think about issues pertaining to rights, freedom and national security.

A convenience sample was drawn primarily from undergraduate sociology students at BC. Seeking students in my own discipline increased the likelihood of gaining access to them, and my research questions, which included those to determine evidence of a sociological perspective, would be useful to my colleagues. My goal was to present to classes with large numbers of exclusively undergraduate students. I obtained a course schedule through the university and contacted professors (many of whom were fellow graduate students) and asked to serve as a guest speaker for a class period in which I could give my PowerPoint presentation and administer my surveys. I presented to any class whose professor

[30] See http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/0919/p12s2-woeu.html.
[31] See http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/09/911_generation.html.

agreed to host me, and visited 10 at BC in the spring semester of 2010. The classes included:

- *Introductory Sociology*
- *Technology & Society;*
- *Important Readings in Sociology (the senior Honors Seminar);*
- *Planet in Peril: Environmental Issues and Society;*
- *Research Methods;*
- *Poverty in America;*
- *Sociology of Pop Culture;*
- *Sociology of HIV/AIDS: Global and US Experiences of Epidemic;*
- *Crime and Social Justice;* and
- *Statistics*.

Another colleague, an adjunct professor at BSU, learned about my study and offered to host me in the three sections of his philosophy class, *Morality and the Natural World*. Reference Appendix B to learn which classes received which treatment, and from which classes the interview respondents were drawn.

I was not sure which way the ideological wind would blow with BC students. On the one hand, BC is located in the liberal Northeast, and in Massachusetts, possibly the most liberal state in the Union. The student body is considered affluent. This Jesuit university also cultivates a strong social justice ethos in its students; many involve themselves in some kind of charity or advocacy work in their spare time. These factors led me to think that most BC students' surveys would reflect a strong negative reaction to the injustice portrayed in my presentation, and a propensity to answer more "liberally" on the civil liberties questions. On the other hand, BC students can be conservative on social issues.

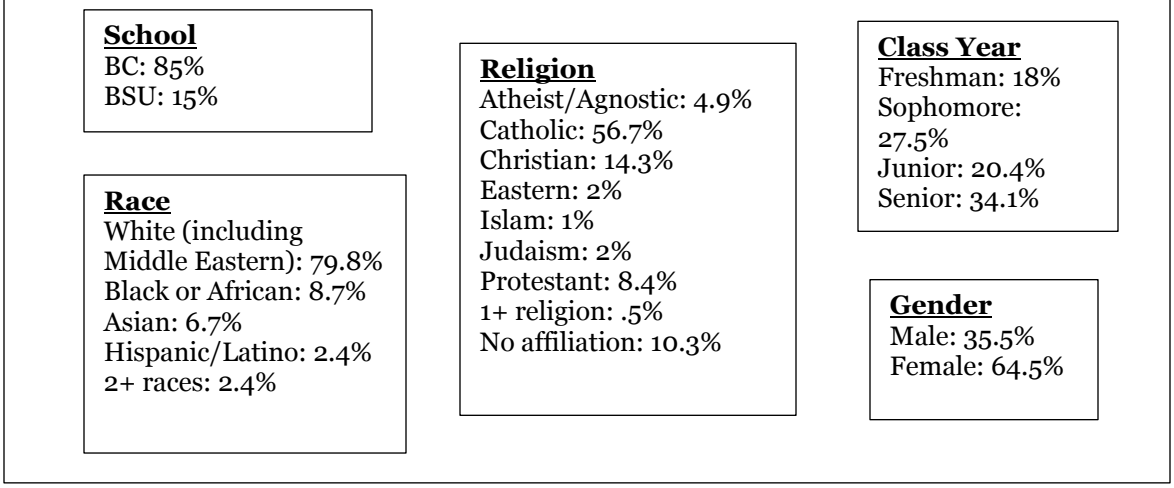
There is a strong right-to-life presence on campus, for example. An affluent background could spell a more politically conservative family culture. The fact that the majority of students are white and Christian could also mean that they have difficulty imagining the experience of an oppressed minority.

The inclusion of BSU students added welcome variety to my sample in a few ways. The university is secular and run by the state, and has different admissions standards than BC.[32] Moreover, the school's data suggests that its student body is not only less racially diverse than BC, but also less affluent.[33,34] Economic diversity seems especially important when asking people about subjects such as life chances, rights and freedoms.

Figure 2.1 below illustrates the sample's demographic characteristics.[35]

[32] BC's acceptance rate is 30%; BSU's acceptance rate is 61%. See BCs "Facts at a Glance" at http://www.bc.edu/publications/factbook/at_a_glance.html and BSU's Factbook at http://www.bridgew.edu/depts/IR/Factbook2009-2010/BSU_Factbook_0910.pdf.
[33] Median income data is not publicly available, however the Common Data Set for BC indicates that 49% of the 2009/2010 class borrowed money loan programs, while the figure for the same class year attending BSU is 80%. See http://www.bridgew.edu/depts/IR/CDS/CDS2009.pdf for BSU.
[34] BSU is much less racially diverse than BC. The BSU 2009-2010 Fact Book indicates that 11% of undergraduates are students of color. See http://www.bridgew.edu/depts/IR/Factbook2009-2010/BSU_Factbook_0910.pdf. BC's Facts at a Glace page notes that 24.4% of undergraduates are students of color. See http://www.bc.edu/publications/factbook/at_a_glance.html.
[35] The chart reflects valid percentages.

Fig. 2.1: Demographic characteristics of sample



Research Questions: Quantitative

The following section outlines the research questions that informed the quantitative portion of my study, and how the survey (see Appendix C) addressed them.

Sociological thinking

- Do participants more often attribute structure or agency to factors behind individual life outcomes?

Survey questions 1, 2 and 5 aim to find out if participants see a relationship between personal outcomes, structural forces and historical events.

Empathy

- Are participants able to respond empathetically to perceived injustice, either in the abstract, or in the specific case of interned Japanese?

Survey Questions 3 and 4 ask how the participant most often responds to injustice. Questions 15, 16, 17 ask him/her to imagine the experience and emotions of Japanese internees and report on their own emotional response to the topic.

Knowledge of Japanese internment

- What prior knowledge of Japanese internment do participants bring to the study, and does knowledge assessment change after the presentation?

Survey Question 13 asks participants to self-report on knowledge of Japanese internment and Question 14 tests whether or not they know if internees were largely American citizens or not (a fact discussed in all versions of the presentation).

Attitude about rights and freedom as they pertain to national security

- To what extent are respondents comfortable with restrictions on personal rights, freedom and privacy by the government? Does an extenuating circumstance like a national crisis influence their comfort level? How willing are they to hold the US government accountable for actions taken in the name of national security?

Questions 6-8 aim to find out if a person's citizenship status determines participants' opinion about rights and freedoms, while Questions 11-12 gives them a chance to consider which rights, if any, the government should limit in peace and in a time of war or national crisis. Question 9 requests participants' opinion about the appropriateness of using race/ethnicity as a factor in surveillance. Questions, 7, 8, and 10 ask participants to weigh in on the government's responsibility to those it detains.

Opinion of Japanese internment

- What are students' opinions of internment before and after the presentation?

The last two questions of the survey, Questions 18 and 19, asked participants to give an opinion on the efficacy, and ethics, of internment.

Research Questions: Qualitative

My interview questions were based in part on findings from the respondents' survey data. Generally, I sought:

- **A clear understanding of the respondent's ideological standpoint.** I reviewed many of their responses with them, and asked for elaboration.

- **An overview of the respondent's personal background** (so that I can better understand their ideological standpoint). There were many direct questions I longed to ask. For example, did they experience racism or other kind of prejudice in their life? Do they have relatives in law enforcement? (Is dad a prosecutor? Uncle a police officer? Cousin a marine in Afghanistan?) What is his or her family's immigration story? From what sort of socioeconomic background do they hail? Instead, I was advised by my committee to ask very general questions that allowed the participant to speculate about factors that might have influenced their opinions. My interview experiences made me grateful for this advice.

- **A sense of how much substance of the presentation they retained.** I asked respondents direct questions about the content of the presentation, including the testimonies, and noted any evidence of recall throughout our conversation.

- **Did the testimonies inspire empathy? What other feelings/thoughts did they provoke?**

- **If respondent's opinions changed from pre-test to post-test, what specifically prompted the change?** This portion of the

discussion illuminated which part/s of the presentation was most evocative.

- **Did the respondent's comments show evidence of sociological thinking?** Most of this evidence would be gleaned from discussions, particularly those about their background and experiences, unless I asked them specifically about their responses to Questions 1, 2, or 5.

- **To what extent does a person's identity, as a citizen/non-citizen, racial/ethnic minority, etc., effect the respondent's attitudes and opinions about the issues broached in this study?** Again, this evidence would be gleaned from discussion, particularly about background and experience.

- **Future behavior**

  I asked respondents to reflect on whether or not their participation in the study caused them to question an existing belief, and if they anticipated any impact on their future behavior.

Experiment Stimulus

Creswell (2003:10) writes that some researchers conduct their studies through a "theoretical perspective." While testing Mills' ([1959] 2000) sociological imagination was of initial interest and not my ultimate main purpose, his idea—that social phenomena are best understood with consideration of both history and personal biography—informed not only the survey questions and interview protocol, but also the experiment stimulus itself.

I developed the PowerPoint from one shared by Densho, used by educators teaching Japanese internment, and fleshed out the historical backdrop and social milieu in which internment took place.[36] I weeded out content pertaining to matter I would avoid in my study (e.g., Japanese participation in military battles, 9/11 references) and created a more even mix between explanatory slides and photos. My primary goal was to present a broader 'story arc' to the students to teach them about: pre-war conditions, government motivations and actions that resulted in evacuation and internment, conditions and consequences for life inside the camps, obstacles faced by internees upon leaving the camps, and redress. From Densho's web site and archive, I added to the existing text and selected photos that seemed moving. The photos take the viewer visually through early Japanese immigration, to evacuation and internment, and finally to

[36] Materials used in the presentation were accessed through the Densho website, www.densho.org and used with permission from Executive Director, Tom Ikeda. See Appendix D for a copy of the signed permission letter.

internees' release and return home or relocation elsewhere. I anticipated that some of the photos would make a powerful impression, particularly these five:

- A family with identification tags hanging off of their coats;
- Stark images of the camps depicting armed guards and watch towers;
- Japanese children, hands over hearts, who appear to be pledging allegiance to the United States;
- A Japanese service man in an American military uniform; and
- A white shopkeeper pointing to an anti-Japanese sign at the war's end.

Densho staff helped me select additional testimonies that covered relevant topic areas. My efforts, however, bloated the presentation with too many slides to cover in the shortest classes I would visit (75 minutes). As importantly, Densho's Executive Director Tom Ikeda advised limiting my testimonies to a maximum of eight if I wanted my participants to remember them.[37] I purged redundant photos, propaganda posters, superfluous testimony, and felt satisfied when I had created a tool that addressed the following 10 learning goals that I crafted while reviewing the Densho website.

1. Racism against Asians generally and Japanese in particular existed long before WWII and is reflected in immigration and other laws that predate Pearl Harbor.

[37] Personal communication, June 25, 2009.

2. Propaganda played a specific role in gaining the cooperation of both the Japanese in America and others alike, and for circumventing constitutional challenges to internment.

3. The Japanese were forced to endure conditions inside the camps and a level of surveillance (on their way into camp, once inside camp, and on their way out of camp) that were dehumanizing.

4. Internment affected *all aspects* of daily life, family life, and the life cycle—from attending school to medical care to burying the dead and so on.

5. US citizens and immigrants alike were imprisoned, but a high percentage of internees were citizens. Many internees were patriotic and had children serving in the military.

6. Japanese suffered substantial financial losses due to internment, and the communities they left suffered as well (vandalism, theft, deserted business districts, etc.).

7. The Japanese were not just passive victims; they fought back, both in and out of court.[38]

[38] This desire to communicate this point is often expressed by those who teach about Jewish victims in the Holocaust.

8. Mistrust of the Japanese was so deep and enduring that many were not permitted to move back to the West Coast and were instead "resettled" in other areas of the US.

9. Japanese who did return home faced ruined lives and continuing racism and resentment.

10. It took many decades and extensive lobbying for the government to admit wrongdoing, apologize, and compensate internees.

While the testimonies provide an eye-witness account of what internment was really like for those incarcerated, the photographs, text and newsreel in my PowerPoint helped illustrate the historical circumstances and cultural climate that preceded and surrounded internment. In this way, the presentation encouraged a "sociological imagination" because the viewer can see how individual experiences, structural forces and historical trends intersected.

Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis

I used a nonequivalent control-group design (Creswell 2003) which means that the sample was parsed into three groups of roughly equal size. Each research group received a different treatment, or version of the PowerPoint presentation. As explained in Chapter 1, the presentation for each treatment group varied in its

use of witness testimony. The Video Group's presentation included eight video testimonies from camp survivors, while the Written Group was asked to read transcripts of the same testimonies. The Control Group's presentation did not include any survivor testimonies. Demographic characteristics were gathered through a Research Participant Data Sheet (see Appendix E) and a 19-question survey used for both the pre- and post-test (see Appendix C).

Recruitment of survey-takers

Experiment subjects were *not* randomly assigned to groups. After securing approval from Boston College's Institutional Review Board (IRB), I contacted all sociology faculty teaching undergraduate courses in the spring 2010 semester and asked permission to visit their classes for one class period to recruit participants. (See Appendix F for IRB approval letter.) Ten professors agreed to host me. In many cases, I gave the data sheets and consent forms to the professor for dispersal ahead of time, since most classes are 75 minutes in length, which seemed just enough time for introduction/instruction, pre-survey, presentation, post-survey, and interview subject recruitment. (See Appendix G for comments given to professors to read to their class to explain my project.) I aimed to approximate an equal number of students in each treatment group and assigned treatment groups accordingly.

Students were assured, both in person and in the survey consent form (see Appendix H), that their participation was entirely voluntary. The consent form stated that their real full names would not be used. Participants were not paid for their participation.[39]

The survey instrument

A survey with 19 closed-ended questions was used to help me measure participants' opinions, perspectives and familiarity with my topic. (See Appendix C.) Likert scales enabled participants to rate their attitudes on a 5-point scale—a more precise measure than the yes/no questions I tested in a pilot study questionnaire.

Threats to validity of survey data

Creswell (2003) identifies several potential threats to validity in survey research. External validity is at risk when the researcher wishes to extrapolate from the current study in a way that is inappropriate (Creswell 2003). When designing my project, my committee strongly encouraged me to draw my sample from college students and sociology students in particular. Their youth would mean they would approach the issues broached in my study without a long lifetime of experience to mediate their opinion. Access to groups was ready-made on a

[39] In one case I was warned by the professor about his lack of attendance policy and advised to offer an "incentive" to the students to come to class. After securing IRB permission, I brought bagels and cream cheese. (Eleven students of 16 showed up that day, so I considered this tactic a success).

college campus through classes, and using sociology students could help our department identify if they are learning some of the lessons we are trying to teach them.

This advice was sound and certainly expedited the data collection process. However this approach limits my ability to generalize too widely from my findings. First, my [convenience] sample was not randomly drawn, and is predominantly focused on the population of one university, which is largely white, Christian and affluent. My participants all fall within the same ~17-~23 year age range (I excluded the stray graduate student who happened to be in any of my classes). As Cundiff *et al.* (2009) contend, college campuses are likely to foster tolerance. For these reasons, I do not generalize my findings to adults above college age, and am wary about generalizing to college students in other types of universities.

Internal validity concerns the fitness of the study design and execution (Creswell 2003). Two potential issues come to mind. Gray *et al.* (2007) point out a potential problem specific to experimental studies that include a pre- and post-test questionnaire. They note that the questionnaire itself might reveal the nature of the study to the respondents and influence the study. I believed that a pre-test was necessary, but I did reserve the segment with questions about Japanese internment for the end of the questionnaire, which they answered just before the

presentation on internment began. There was also not a uniform time-lapse between the survey and interview for all participants, though all interviews were completed before the close of the spring semester so all data was collected within a span of 5 months. My fundamental assumption was that I might be able to affect a change in attitude with personal testimony. I am not sure a change in a person's whole outlook over the course of an hour and fifteen minutes is realistic, no matter what happens in that timeframe, but I do feel that new perspectives can be gained from provocative material. Similarly, the two questions I designed to measure evidence of a sociological imagination raise doubts about construct validity because this concept is so difficult to measure (Creswell 2003), but they offer a starting point to think about how to operationalize this concept. Early on, I doubted my ability to find statistical tests appropriate for the sizes of my treatment groups and ensure that I have statistical conclusion validity (Creswell 2003). Ultimately I visited more classes than expected so that each treatment group has a much higher number of participants than originally anticipated (48 in Control Group, 90 in Video Group, and 76 in Written Group).

Analysis of survey data

The 214 sets of surveys were coded and then entered into the statistical program SPSS. My objective was to gather both descriptive as well as inferential statistics about my sample to help me determine if there was a statistically significant difference between each treatment group. Additionally, the information collected

through the Research Participant Data Sheet helped me look for significant correlations between survey responses and race, gender, university and age.

The first step in analysis was examining the frequency distributions of all the variables. Some of the variables had skewed distributions, and therefore had to be "fixed" before analysis. Most often this meant transforming them into a dichotomous variable. I also had to reverse-code several variables, so that questions analyzed together in a scale variable would have the same "directionality" before being combined into an index, that is, the ordinal scales were moving in the same direction. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was used to analyze questions with normal distributions, and binary logistic regression or multiple regression were used for those variables (i.e., those from Question 2, which is discussed in Chapter 5) transformed into a variable with two or three response categories, respectively.

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Recruitment of interview respondents

From the pool of survey participants who requested consideration for an interview, I chose 21 students to invite for a one-on-one conversation. In student selection, I strove for balance in gender, ethnicity, race, religion and geography (participants filled out their home state of origin and where they spent the most time since attending BC on their Research Participant Data Sheet). In this way, I

hoped to avoid what Weiss (1994:212) calls "biased sampling." I also wanted ideological variety as well. I made a sheet for every potential interviewee, noting their answers to the pre- and post-test survey questions, and whether or not there was any change between them. The survey question that interested me most was Question 19, in which participants were asked to characterize their opinion of internment as either "fundamentally right," "basically right, but implemented wrongly," "problematic but necessary," or "fundamentally wrong" (see Appendix C). I used respondents' answers to this question as a way to group them. If they selected anything other than "fundamentally wrong," I assumed they thought internment was a good plan and nicknamed the group "good plan." I also noted if they changed their answer from pre- to post-test. So I wound up with four broad categories, "good plan non-changer," "good plan changer," and for those who chose "fundamentally wrong," "bad plan non-changer" and "bad plan changer." Within these larger categories, I used their answers on other key questions (such as Question 9, about racial profiling) as well as their demographic characteristics to select as varied a group as possible. Of course, in the end, if a desired potential interviewee was unreachable or too busy, I had to move on to a back-up choice.

Interview participants were compensated with a $30 Visa gift card as a thank you for their time. Additionally, all students' names were entered into a drawing for one of three gift certificates (donated to this study by area restaurants) as an extra recruitment incentive, and the 3 winners (2 BC students and 1 BSU student)

received their prize before leaving for the summer. Weiss (1994) believes that compensating participants with financial needs is an effective recruiting tool, and my experience supports his assertion. The gift card was mentioned at each presentation, and in the end I had an ample amount of volunteers from which to select my interview pool. Interviewees seemed grateful for the gift card.

The in-depth interviews, which ranged from ~.5-~1.5 hours in length, allowed me to learn more about participants' personal background, reasons for choosing specific survey responses, estimation of future behavior, etc. I also looked for evidence of sociological thinking and their ability to draw connections between the past and the present, and between their personal experiences and their beliefs. All interviews followed what Gray *et al.* (2007) characterize as a nonschedule standardized format. I used an interview protocol (see Appendix I) and ran through virtually all of the questions with each participant, but allowed myself flexibility in the phrasing and order in which I asked them. Interviews were conducted at the convenience of the participant, and audio-taped.

Threats to validity of interview data

- Did they tell me what they really think?

Being a person whose political orientation leans left and whose previous academic work centers around issues of diversity and tolerance, there was a danger of imprinting this project with my own biases (Creswell 2003). In fact, my

first survey drafts communicated my beliefs too clearly and had to be revised until I could cleanse traces of my views from the questions.

Even without such an overt indication of the researcher's own beliefs, participants can often sense which responses are "acceptable" or "expected" just by the nature of the material (Creswell 2003; Cundiff *et al.* 2009). Weiss (1994:149) notes that interview subjects can "shade" their answers by responding in a way that presents them in the best possible light, which can happen with questions asking for subjective answers.[40]

To guard against this type of threat, I began prefacing my interviews with a few comments to the interviewees. One of the first things I would say to the participant after making sure the interview consent forms (see Appendix J) were signed was that I understood the complex and difficult nature of the topic. Even though I *wrote* the questions, I admitted that I did not necessarily know how I would respond to all of them. I explained why I asked about answer switches, so they would not feel interrogated by my questions about changes between pre- and post-surveys. Throughout the conversation, I was also acutely aware of my facial expressions, body language and listening cues, and put great effort into communicating as "neutral" yet agreeable posture as possible so that they would feel comfortable and speak freely.

[40] Weiss (1994:149) believes that interviewers seeking "opinions, attitudes, appraisals, evaluations, values [and] beliefs" are susceptible to such a tactic.

- Can one really know what participants will do in the future?

I asked all participants if viewing my presentation or participating in my study might change their thinking or behavior in the future. Cundiff *et al.* (2009) point out that asking participants to predict behavior is not as reliable a measure as actually studying future behavior.

- Can I make sense of the data?

I faced the task of trying to make sense of detailed conversations after the fact, and how they relate to survey data collected before the interview. Creswell (2003:196) suggests "member-checking," or going over the data with participants, and indeed in the consent form (and sometimes in conversation) I asked interviewees' permission to follow-up with them by email or phone as I analyzed the data if I had a question, or if I simply needed to clarify my understanding of their comments. No one objected, and I ultimately did not need to contact any respondents because I found their comments straight-forward and easy to understand.

Analysis of interview data

The Sociology Department granted me $300 to help defray transcription costs which I used to get 3 interviews fully transcribed by professionals, and transcribed the rest of the data myself as needed. With text in hand, I separated interview segments by topic, e.g., "racial profiling," "previous education,"

"Americans' culpability" etc., so that comments from all respondents on a single topic could be analyzed together and combed for patterns. Eventually, I matched interview topics with relevant survey questions for analysis, according to chapter topic, for an integrated analysis.

Chapter 3: The Importance of Bearing Witness

The Reluctant Witness

When life is peaceful and pleasant, we may have little motivation to think about the suffering of others. In the interest of preserving the equilibrium of a contented spirit, training our mind on positive topics is a wise choice. But before long, the universe will interrupt with a news bulletin detailing catastrophe, close to home or far away, and ask that we pay attention. Often, we resist; we shut off the TV news, change the radio station, or turn the newspaper page to something more palatable. Gazing into the human face of suffering is to confront dark and unpleasant realities that we can do little (or nothing) about. Like Hartman (2001) and social critic Susan Sontag (2003), journalist David Gates (2007:53) believes this impulse is natural, and perhaps self-preserving: "turning a deaf ear is a primal human reflex. We're especially prone to it when cries of pain are coming from six decades ago. Or say, from some country you couldn't locate on a map." The very nature of a comfortable life may pacify and dull our response (Sontag 2003; Langer 1997) or news of suffering may simply frighten us off or fail to penetrate the stimulus-overload of modern life (Sontag 2003). Langer (1997) poses a cultural explanation. American life, he writes, "with its stress on individual success and an infinitely improving future" cultivates a "psychology of mental comfort that discourages encounters with tragedy…." (Langer 1997:52)

"Remembering is *an ethical act, has ethical value in and of itself." – Susan Sontag*[41]

Must We Confront Suffering?

In 2010, *The New York* Times published a photo essay, "The Shrine Down the Hall," featuring the bedrooms of young American soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan.[42] Reader *ServiceMom's* response to the *Times* photo essay hints at an underlying dilemma with moral and pragmatic implications. She writes:

> I had to make myself look at each of these pictures and to read each name and their ages. Even though I didn't know any of these young people or their families, I deeply mourn each of them and for the futures that none of them will have. I hope to meet them in heaven to be able to say, 'thank you for your service, you mean so much to me!'

Clearly, the photos were upsetting to this reader. Her words acknowledge that the soldiers are now beyond her mortal ability to help. Implicit in her comment, however, is a perceived duty to look that pushed her past her comfort zone. Her comment raises important questions for us all. Are we obligated to bear witness to the suffering of our fellow human beings? Is there something worthwhile in witnessing, even if we cannot affect change? What are the implications of our witnessing for those who suffer? For us, who witness?

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[41] Page 115 in Sontag, Susan. 2003. Regarding the Pain of Others. New York: Picador.
[42] See http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/03/21/magazine/20100321-soliders-bedrooms-slideshow.html.

A literature review unearthed several points that illustrate how bearing witness to the suffering of others can address both macro- and micro-level social concerns.

- **We can deepen our understanding of humanity**

Nutkiewicz (2003) explains that in earlier times, communities shared stories as a way of educating members about their group. While we still gather and share one another's stories today, they do not remain ephemeral. We collect and store them, making them at once "stable"(Nutkiewicz 2003:17) in a literal sense (recorded, archived, formally managed) and unstable. While still "communal and didactic" (Ibid.) a story, once captured, becomes a commodity detached from its origin that is accessible to many.[43]

Perhaps because of this increased access, learning about the plights of others can be a way to learn about the human condition more generally (Hartman 2001) as we can gather perspectives from across cultures and time periods. Stories of injustice teach us, for example, about humans' vulnerability to evil. Once we begin to learn about violence and oppression, we can no longer pretend that evil is only perpetrated by those completely unlike us, or assume there is a safe divide between "good" people and "bad" people (Sontag 2003). To this point, Langer (1997:58) writes that trauma stories call for "a revision of the myth of civilized being." At the same time, learning

[43] Hartman (2001) makes this same point.

about suffering also teaches us about the resiliency of the human spirit (Hartman 2001).

- **We can learn from the mistakes of history in hopes that we avoid repeating them.**

Mills ([1959] 2000) believed it was impossible to understand the present without a perspective that incorporated knowledge of the past. History's darkest chapters lend a sense of urgency to his idea. Out of the horrors of the European Holocaust came the famous imperative, "Never again." Survivors, and many in the world at large, believed that the magnitude of the war's atrocities, once fully known, would shock people so significantly as to prevent a similar event from ever happening again. Yet genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and now Darfur prove this hope to be unfounded. We also find evidence of evils of the past resurfacing in the present in less blatant, more insidious, ways, through patterns of thinking. Shortly after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the US government response evoked comparisons to its behavior in the period directly following Pearl Harbor. Many of these policies, and repercussions from them, persist. Ogawa (2004:9) writes:

> Discriminatory policies, programs, and practices are still present today. Disparities and inequalities manifest at local, state, and federal levels, and in both public and private domains. Since the September 11th attack on the United States, which is often compared to the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, the need for understanding of the democratic ideals of social justice and equity and the issues of national security has never been greater. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the Arab-American and Muslim communities have been subjected to many of the same experiences that were once visited on Japanese Americans.

The controversy that surrounded a proposed community center and Islamic prayer space ("Park51") near New York City's Ground Zero in 2010 provides a recent example to Ogawa's assertion. Indeed, many Muslims, like the Japanese, physically resemble an enemy who attacked America. They are, as the Japanese were in America in the 1940's, a relatively small group with little political clout or popular understanding, and their way of life and beliefs are similarly plagued by stereotyped, essentialist interpretations. Muslims, as well as those thought to be Muslim, arouse fear, suspicion and "patriotism" in many Americans. Some speculate that their beliefs are incompatible with our values, just as many reasoned that Japanese blood ensured sympathy to Japan.[44]

In spite of an absence of compelling evidence, the project and its organizers were alleged to have ties to terrorist groups, and self-interested critics played on escalating hysteria fueled by misinformation about the project, and Muslims in general.[45] For example, many referred to Park51 as a "mosque" when a more accurate description is "community center."[46] What is most directly relevant to America's history with the Japanese is the willingness on the part of some political

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[44] Dubrow (2008:125-126) indicates that Americans accused the Japanese of being "loyal citizens of a military power" who were "inassimilable"—decades before the war.
[45] See "US Morality Cop Who Can't Take a Political Frisk" at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/23/us/politics/23iht-letter.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=U.S.%20Morality%20Cop%20Who%20Can%E2%80%99t%20Take%20a%20Political%20Frisk&st=cse as well as "Mr. Lazio's Bid for Attention" at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/24/opinion/24tue3.html?scp=1&sq=Mr.%20Lazio%E2%80%99s%20Bid%20for%20Attention&st=cse.
[46] This point became known to me through a discussion on WBUR's *On Point* entitled "Imam, Preacher, Rabbi on Islamic Center Near Ground Zero" at http://onpoint.wbur.org/2010/08/25/three-faiths-ground-zero.

leaders and others to wholly circumvent or discriminately interpret the principles of the Constitution to one segment of the population on the basis of their religious and ethnic identity. In spite of this resistance, the mosque, which opened its doors for worship in 2009, held an inaugural exhibit for all in September 2011.[47]

Those with knowledge of the Japanese wartime experience in America used this context to inform their opinion about the proposed center.[48] But many could not, or did not want to, recognize the connection. Park51 provides a sobering reminder that we must try harder to make connections between the past and today, to persevere in our efforts to make society's past mistakes resonate with modern issues in hopes of creating a more just society. Certainly, a more comprehensive and widespread understanding about how our fears and prejudices destroyed lives of Japanese men and women could illuminate and redirect this current debate.

- **Bearing witness can directly and indirectly help the suffering**

There is disagreement about whether or not the act of telling one's story is helpful for the story teller with a testimonial of suffering to share. Langer (1997) contends that speaking of trauma is not always a palliative act, and that the pain is sometimes so

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[47] See http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Latest-News-Wires/2011/0922/Ground-zero-mosque-opened-to-public-Wednesday.

[48] For example *Times* reader Patricia from Michigan posted this comment: "Fear is challenging our values. Unfortunately history repeats itself. e.g., fear of Japanese—internment camps. With 20/20 hindsight, it's clear that rounding up every Asian as responsible for Pearl Harbor is an over reaction…" See this comment at http://community.nytimes.com/comments/opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/08/20/real-americans-please-stand-up/?sort=recommended&offset=3&scp=2&sq=%22japanese%20internment%22&st=cse.

great that the victim cannot, and does not want to, feel better. Some suggest that that the process can be transformative (Hartman 2001; Nutkiewicz 2003). Auerhahn and Laub (1990) and Hartman (2001) posit that victims actually re-establish a tie with others through sharing their testimonial. The injury done to them by perpetrators (and bystanders) results in what Auerhahn and Laub (1990:451) call a "failed empathy" that the victim tries to correct through "relegitimizing the empathetic response" (Ibid.) which ultimately, "reinvents and re-imagines the other [and] also reconstitutes the self"(Ibid.). The path to others, in other words, leads the way home to the self.[49] Dubrow (2008) points out that testifying helped many Japanese Americans overcome shame and recognize the injustice of internment.

Whether or not narrative testimonials of suffering provide a psychic benefit, they can be helpful to the victim in other ways. At a most basic level, they instruct: we learn about trauma's effects, and what survivors do—and do not—need from the world at large (Langer 1997). Testimonials also capture the voices of victims while they are still able to use them (Harman 2004a) and allow them to leave a legacy. In fact, family members may be helped by the information that witness interviews provide. Dubrow (2008) notes that many second-generation Japanese were able to come to a more robust understanding of their parents' experiences through their testimonials,

[49] Bruner (2002:64) makes a related point about the act of storytelling: "there is no such thing as an intuitively obvious and essential self to know, one that just sits there ready to be portrayed in words. Rather, we constantly construct and reconstruct ourselves to meet the needs of the past and our hopes and fears for the future. Telling oneself about oneself is like making up a story about who and what we are, what's happened, and why we're doing what we're doing."

since so little was discussed about internment prior to archival efforts that began in the later part of the 20th century.

Several aspects of oral history projects help influence public discourse about a historical event. In focusing on the eye witness, archival efforts level the playing field by collecting stories across class and educational lines (Hartman 2001; Portelli 2006; Thompson 2006). We hear from those who might ordinarily remain in the margins. A wide spectrum of experiences debunks uninformed opinions of a group that characterize people of an ethnic or religious group as the same (Dubrow 2008).

Testimonials also help return agency to the victim (Blutinger 2009). There is often thought to be too much focus on the perpetrators of violence in educational material (Blutinger 2009; Hartman 1991). Beyond issues of emphasis, some representations can further denigrate the victim by reinforcing victim status (Hartman 2004a, 1991).[50] A personal story allows the individual to emerge from the anonymous crowd affected by a tragedy (Hartman 2004a; Drew 1991).

Dubrow (2008) illustrates the power of witness testimony in influencing public discourse in the specific case of the Japanese in America. Not long after the first Japanese arrived in America in the wake of the ban on Chinese immigration in the

[50]This point brings to mind Patraka's (1999:127) comment about a gallery within the USHMM showcasing pre-war portraits of victims: "One virtue of these pictures is that they represent how these people want to be seen, versus how the Nazis made them look or how they looked when the liberators found them."

late 19th century, public opinion turned against them, too. The Japanese living here faced increasingly restrictive laws and by 1924, immigration from Japan was also banned. Distorted news reporting, popular culture and government writing communicated the ideas that Japanese here were incapable of blending into American society and should be feared. Language issues, little collective power, and traditional cultural mores that privileged the group over the individual meant that the Japanese had an inadequate defense against what Dubrow (2008:128) characterizes as "rhetorical bullying" by whites intent on pushing them out. Immigrant Japanese, unable to attain American citizenship, sought intervention from Japan. Some hoped their gestures, such as English-only signage on their businesses, would speak for them (Dubrow 2008).

During the war years, a sociologist working with (non-interred) Japanese Americans did seek to capture the camp experience from the point of view of the internees. Dubrow (2008) suggests that because the phenomenon under study—life inside a domestic concentration camp—was unprecedented, the team was unable to portray the experience with any authenticity. The academy did not yet have the tools to equip them to understand what they encountered and the data "was mediated by [their] perceptions and conceptual frameworks" (Dubrow 2008:12).

Internees, like many Holocaust survivors, were loath to discuss their experiences upon release. Citing the observations of Tetsuden Kashima, who wrote the foreword

to the US Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians report, *Personal Justice Denied,* Dubrow (2008) explains that their hesitancy owes much to the political climate created by McCarthyism, the Korean conflict and the Cold War in the decades after the war. While it would be several years before oral history projects on internment would see the light of day, interest in the experience of Japanese in America eventually began to percolate. The immigrant generation began to age and Japanese journalist Kazou Ito began to collect letters and other documentation. While illuminating in a general sense, the topic of internment was not discussed in these years before the Japanese community confronted the government about their persecution during the war (Dubrow 2008).

America's social movements cultivated interest in justice within the Japanese community. Over a ten year period, the Japanese American Research Project (sponsored by the Japanese American Citizens League) collected artifacts and documents. (Audio testimonies would be added later.) Finally, in the 1970's and 1980's, a movement for redress resulted in a congressional act that created the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Although they had to overcome some initial reluctance to participate, 750 witnesses participated in the 20+ days of hearings in 10 cities. Whereas whites had long controlled the discourse on "the Japanese problem" (Dubrow 2008:127), Japanese at last could speak on their own behalf. Not only did testimony redirect public and government opinion about internment, the hearings resulted in an official apology and reparations

payments to survivors and broadened the scope of the Civil Rights Movement (Dubrow 2008).

The post-redress era has seen a proliferation of oral history projects dedicated to Japanese American internment, some of which was supported by funding made available by the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. The projects have widened the array of witnesses commenting on this and other aspects of Japanese history (Dubrow 2008). However, even sixty years later, there is evidence that representations of internment in educational contexts rely too little on first-person accounts and thus project an unbalanced picture. In 2002, Ogawa (2004) did a content analysis of text books and discovered troubling gaps. He found that students would not likely get an accurate sense of Japanese American life before and after internment. Discussions of pre-internment life were usually placed separately in the text from internment, and details of post-War life painted a more benign reality than experienced by most (violence after the war, for example, was not discussed). The writers did not fully explain systemic injustice and other structural forces that preceded internment (for example, the country's laws were not fully explained). Discussions instead focused around concerns for national security. Few books featured photos that could give students an accurate sense of life inside the camps. Perhaps most notably, he found some of the books did not include internee testimony and while the texts did discuss

reparations, the coverage was not equally thorough, and none acknowledged the efforts of those Japanese whose hard work earned this justice (Ogawa 2004).[51]

- **Increase our empathetic understanding**

The original presentation on Japanese American internment shared with me by Densho included a short video clip of Nadine Hamoui, a young Syrian women raised in Washington State. She is describing the early morning raid on her home by fifteen FBI, US marshals and INS agents in February 2002, following the 9/11 attacks. Amid the chaos, she comes to discern a struggle between her mother and a male agent, who will not let her put her head scarf on before taking her out of her bedroom. Nadine approaches the sole female agent to try to intervene. The male agent refuses to leave her alone, and forces her mother out into the crowd where "she ended up being seen by all the 15 strange men, which is against the religion…" Nadine's voice is shaking with emotion as she describes the encounter, and she has to pause at one point to keep from breaking down. I, too, begin to tear up, and although I have spent every day of my life with an uncovered head, I come to understand what the hijab meant to this woman. Her daughter's emotional account conveys the commotion and distress experienced by her family. I picture her mother in her nightgown, and feel her humiliation, fear and vulnerability.

[51] Ogawa (2004:15) believes testimonials "assist students in engaging historical empathy."

Perhaps the most important reason to illuminate the human cost of oppression and violence is to inspire this kind of empathy. Personal stories facilitate the "a-ha" moment when understanding "clicks" and the listener recognizes something familiar in the story or can imagine "being there" with relative ease. Opinions differ about the nature of empathy, and whether or not empathy can be taught (Benbassat and Buamal 2004), "recovered" (Spiro 1992:844) or merely facilitated (Davis 1990). In fact, Engelen and Röttger-Rössler (2012) suggest that there is not even a consensus about the *meaning of the term* within the academy. Yet, research shows that just as the sufferer reaches out to the empathetic other (the interviewer, or the unknown audiences who will hear or read the story), the listener, too, moves emotionally toward the victim in real and salient ways through testimony.

Ideally, empathy will lead to some sort of action on the sufferer's behalf. Langer (1997) writes that to be "horror-struck is a frugal form of charity. We need a new kind of discourse to disturb our collective consciousness and stir it into practical action, that moves beyond mere pity."[52] Empathy, he implies, is only of real value if it can lead us to *act*. Indeed, studies show a connection between empathy and a willingness to support justice for victims. Pedersen *et al.* (2004), cite Karacanta and Fitness's (2003) study, in which they encouraged straight students to feel empathetically toward gay students, and found empathy predicted interest in participating in anti-violence measures.

[52] Page 47 in Langer, Lawrence. 1997. "The Alarmed Vision: Social Suffering and Holocaust Atrocity" Pp. 47-65 in *Social Suffering*. Eds Kleinman, Arthur, Veena Das and Margaret Locke. Berkeley California Press.

Researchers have found that people who share a common group identity with perpetrators of oppression or violence show more favorable attitudes towards reparations measures if they can be inspired to feel empathy for victims first. For example, Brown and Cehajic (2008) conducted studies with Serbian students who were children during the Balkan conflict of the mid-1990s. Survey research revealed that those whose responses showed evidence of collective guilt about the conflict were also positively disposed toward reparations for victims and demonstrated empathy toward them. Similarly, Pedersen *et al.* (2004) surveyed non-Indigenous Australians about their attitudes concerning Indigenous Australians. In two different studies, they measured guilt and empathy by asking questions specific to Indigenous issues and more general questions. In both studies, respondents who showed little evidence of collective guilt exhibited more negative attitudes toward Indigenous Australians. Feelings of empathy and collective guilt expressed about Indigenous Australians specifically predicted negative attitudes about them (though only in their first study, when these emotions about Indigenous issues specifically were measured). Those who felt less collective guilt and empathy were more likely to feel negatively toward Indigenous Australians (Pedersen *et al.* 2004). Harvey and Oswald (2000) did an experimental study with a group of white college students to assess their enthusiasm for initiatives that assist their Black peers. The researchers learned that students who viewed a film about civil rights were inclined to support the initiatives, but those who first completed an exercise in which they listed their positive traits were markedly more enthusiastic about the initiatives. This finding

suggests that simply inspiring a feeling of shared guilt alone is not enough to motivate action, and that the aspects of the stimulus that inspire negative self-evaluation must be relieved in order to induce a willingness to help victim groups (Harvey and Oswald 2000).[53]

How do personal narratives of suffering act on us?

"The testimonies…engage the emotions as well as the intellect; in this respect they act like poetry but with a more painful directness" — Hartman[54]

If victim testimonials can inspire us to feel empathy or even to act on victims' behalf, how specifically, do they do this? What sort of 'active properties' do stories possess?

Stories are contextual.

Research suggests that stories of all kinds support the way our brains are hard-wired to work. Caine *et al.* (1995:44, emphasis in original) assert that because the human brain is a "*parallel processor,"* it responds best to information that is synthesized into a coherent whole. Stories provide contexts to understand and bridge gaps between data that would otherwise be fragmented and disassociated (Cain *et al.* 1995).

[53] This study came to my attention through Pedersen *et al.* (2004).
[54] From page 210 in Hartman, Geoffrey. 2004. "Audio and Video Testimony and Holocaust Studies." Pp. 205-219 in *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust,* edited by Mariane Hirsch and Irene Kacandes. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.

Stories are transcendent.

Themes from time-worn tales emerge in contemporary narratives (Frank 2006) and a character's journey can mirror our own in important ways (Bruner 2002). The individual nature of testimony can speak truths that rise beyond the specific subject of the story; Hartman (1991) suggests, for example, that Holocaust testimonies have the ability to resonate outside the specific tragedy of that event.

Stories are multi-perspectival.

Personal narratives offer us a perspective on historical events that we are unable to gain any other way; in this way they "broade[n] the field of historical awareness" (Hartman 2004a:211). Both Bedford (2002) and Frank (2006) cite stories' openness to interpretation as a strength. Similar to Nutkiewicz's (2003:117) point that stories have 'stability' once recorded, Frank (2006:423) notes that "…stories make a difference in relation to other actors, and exactly what difference they will make can never be predicted…. Stories make themselves available to consciousness because they support many viewpoints; the same story makes a different point to different listeners. As actors in relation to other actors, stories are always a bit out of control."

Stories *show* without *telling*.

Frank (2006:432) calls stories "selection-evaluation devices" because they provide signposts to what is important for the reader (or listener) to absorb. Without providing a direct imperative, narratives gently make their point and allow the

witness to draw his/her own conclusions (Bruner 2002; Bedford 2002). In this way, they leave room for us to place ourselves and our own content into the narrative as we process, "inspir[ing] an internal dialogue and thus ensur[ing] a real connection" (Bedford 2002:np).

Stories invite the heart and spirit to join the mind.

Trauma stories, with disturbing detail, shock us to attention. Writing about an illness narrative, Frank (2006:428) wrote that the "pain…evoked is unbearable, and that evocation makes the story itself unbearable. Yet whether at accident scenes or in horror films, the unbearable is a kind of attraction; not an enticement like a technoluxe story, but still a call to attend." So without eliciting a gratuitous or inappropriate fascination, a story of suffering—much like the American GI narrating my elevator ride to the Holocaust museum's exhibit—is a sharp clap by our ear, summoning our attention. They also push us to grow on many levels simultaneously, and inspire our empathy for others (Blutinger 2009; Hartman 2004a). Testimonies allow the person to emerge from the history (Drew 1991; Hartman 2001) and give us insight into the lived experience of another human being (Luwisch 2001). Speaking specifically of Holocaust video-taped testimonies, Hartman (2004a:210) explains that this quality—in spite of content that can be gruesome—can keep students' focus on the intended message:

> For the testimonies are not photographs that burn themselves into the mind… Interest shifts from the mystery of evil that shrouds the perpetrator to the humanity of the victim. Instead of a cinematic or

> other type of sensationalism…the testimonies keep to the human face and voice, without dramatic additives.

How this study contributes to the literature

Other researchers, such as Watts (2008) with elementary school students, Werle (2004) with middle school students, and Duggleby (1998) with nursing students, have conducted studies using personal accounts in an educational setting. My study makes a unique contribution by testing students' responses to a specific historical chapter (Japanese internment in World War II) to determine their opinions about a variety of issues relevant both to that chapter in history and to a more recent event (government and public response to Arabs and Muslims in America after 9/11). I used videotaped testimonies incorporated into a multimedia PowerPoint that I narrated and presented to audiences as part of an instructional lesson. My study participants are exclusively college students hailing from both a private university and a state university enrolled in sociology and philosophy classes, respectively. According to Watts (2008:204), "Few quantitative studies show the benefits of using storytelling in the classroom." My study analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data.

Chapter: 4: What do they remember and understand? Information retention and comprehension among participants

An experience can generate strong emotions in a person without imprinting itself in such a way that its specifics are easily recalled later on. As previously discussed, my response to a soldier's recollections of liberating a Nazi camp was deeply and powerfully felt, though my memory of it was not well articulated. Nevertheless, his account prepared me to take on the gravity of the museum's permanent exhibit for the first time. (This is, I suspect, why the museum uses the film inside the elevator up to the exhibit's entrance.) Additionally, his story gave me another vantage point from which to approach the material, and created a lasting emotional association tied to my visit. The details of his testimony then, were secondary to the feelings and mindset cultivated by my witness to them.

My curiosity is rooted in this and other experiences with witness testimonials, and generates many questions about the relationship between emotion and memory. Is my experience atypical? Does a profound emotional experience spur retention? Is a detailed memory necessary for an enduring impression to take hold? Which aspect of a memory is more likely to inspire attitude and behavior changes, facts or emotion? Discovering that museum personnel and oral history archivists desired research on viewers' retention solidified my decision to study how well they retain information presented to them through filmed witness accounts.

Taking a knowledge reading

Before analyzing participants' ability to remember and comprehend my lecture, I thought it wise to ascertain my participants' knowledge of Japanese internment at the outset of the study, and then again after exposure to the stimulus. I evaluated content knowledge through the survey, and with interviewees, through our conversations. Survey Question 13 asked participants to rate their knowledge of Japanese internment.

Survey Question 13
Please indicate your knowledge about the internment of Japanese in America during WWII.
Circle one number.

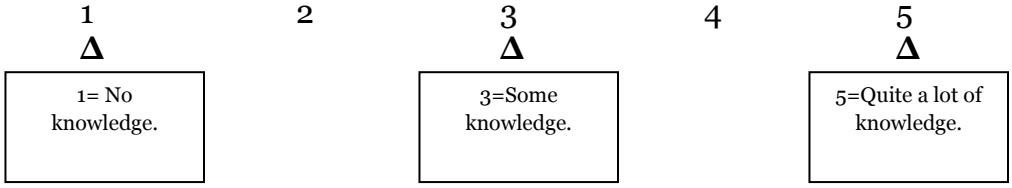


Table 4.1: Frequency Table for Question 13, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no knowledge	7	3.3	3.3	3.3
	min knowledge	31	14.5	14.6	17.8
	some knowledge	**118**	**55.1**	**55.4**	**73.2**
	fair amt of knowledge	41	19.2	19.2	92.5
	quite a bit of knowledge	16	7.5	7.5	100.0
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

As seen in Table 4.1, the largest percentage of participants, more than half, estimated that they had some knowledge of Japanese internment going into the study. The next largest groups of survey-takers believed they either had a "fair amount of knowledge" (19.2%) or "minimum knowledge" (14.5%). Very few students believed they possessed "quite a bit of knowledge" (7.5%) or "no knowledge" (~3%). In short, these students have encountered the topic at some point in their young lives and know "the gist," but little more.

Table 4.2: Frequency Table for Question 13, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no knowledge	1	.5	.5	.5
	min knowledge	5	2.3	2.3	2.8
	some knowledge	43	20.1	20.1	22.9
	fair amt of knowledge	**131**	**61.2**	**61.2**	**84.1**
	quite a bit of knowledge	34	15.9	15.9	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

As Table 4.2 above shows, the percentage of participants who believed they have "a fair amount of knowledge" of Japanese internment increased three-fold, and those who believed they have "quite a bit of knowledge" doubled after the presentation. The three responses that correspond to "no knowledge," "minimum knowledge," and "some knowledge" all decreased in the post-test. One cannot know, however, whether the participants' post-test responses reflect a

reassessment of what they already knew, or their new level of knowledge attained from watching the presentation.

Table 4.3 below indicates that the distribution for Question 13 variables is not skewed and that Ordinary Least Squares Regression is an appropriate statistical test.

Table 4.3: Statistics for Question 13 Variables

		Know_1	Know_2
N	Valid	213	214
	Missing	1	0
Skewness		.132	-.610
Std. Error of Skewness		.167	.166

Table 4.4 below indicates that what participants claimed to know about internment in the pre-test influenced their knowledge claim in the post-test, as did their race. Since the B coefficient for the pre-test variable is positive but less than 1, the differences between the pre- and post-test responses grew smaller as the scores grew higher. Those who went into the presentation believing they knew more about internment changed their scores less than those who believed they knew less when the study began. White students' scores on the post-test knowledge question were .261 units higher than students' of color, which means they assessed their knowledge of Japanese internment higher in the post-test than students of color.

Table 4.4: Coefficients[a] for OLS Regression for Question 13

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.017	.218		9.248	.000
	Know_1	**.483**	**.047**	**.588**	**10.236**	**.000**
	VidGroup	.173	.106	.123	1.627	.105
	WritGroup	.057	.113	.040	.507	.613
	racetrans	**.261**	**.098**	**.153**	**2.679**	**.008**
	males	.096	.084	.065	1.143	.255
	schooltrans	-.012	.121	-.006	-.103	.918
	upperandlower	.099	.088	.071	1.119	.265

a. Dependent Variable: Know_2

"P.S., this also happened in America": Interview respondents' previous exposure to the subject of Japanese Internment[55]

The interviews provided an opportunity to ask respondents about their previous education on Japanese internment, and I found support for the quantitative finding that their exposure to the topic was, in most cases, sparse. Not surprisingly, when asked, most said their education about the Holocaust far outweighed their education on Japanese internment. Some described their teachers' treatment of internment as an historical asterisk in their coverage of WWII. Many used terms like "glossed over," and Evan[56] (Control Group) characterized his exposure to the topic this way: "when we were studying the 80's, that was like, you know, 2 sentences in the text book, like whatever the Act was….," referring to the Civil Liberties Act signed by President Ronald Regan in 1988. Four respondents recalled books on the topic in high school, although their remarks suggested that these novels were used in classes other than history or social studies. Also, three students indicated that they learned about the topic in an elective or advanced placement class, meaning they were exposed to material that others in their cohort may not have. For example, Scarlet (Written Group) studied the topic in a class called "Challenge, where you had to meet a certain like IQ and grade requirement…." As for their required history courses, I got the impression that these classes covered large amounts of historical territory, and

[55] The quotation comes from my interview with Written Group respondent, who used the phrase to jokingly describe the treatment of the topic by her teacher when covering WWII.
[56] Pseudonyms are used in place of all interview respondents' real names.

sacrificed depth for breadth. This could be the case even for college classes. Marcel (Control Group) took US History at BC and said the teacher "briefly touched upon it but definitely didn't go into detail of the story or anything like that." Four respondents believe that the period in history is so shameful that it is purposely avoided by educators, and in fact, two used the phrase "hush-hush." Gina was the only student who had had extensive exposure to the topic, because she had a Japanese teacher with personal interest in the subject (and, Gina thought, ancestors who were interned).

Gathering Recall and Comprehension Data

Both the quantitative and qualitative data collected for this study helped me address questions about information recall and retention. I tested recall of a key fact from the general presentation through the survey. Qualitative interviews with a subset of survey-takers helped me find out if narrative testimonials from internment survivors sparked only a temporary involvement, or remained in participants' hearts and minds beyond their exposure to them in the presentation.

There was one fact conveyed in the presentation of keen interest to Densho. Some continue to believe, as many Americans did during the war, that the US

government interned Japanese *prisoners of war* in the camps.[57] On the contrary, two-thirds of the prisoners held were American citizens and the remaining third were ordinary Japanese citizens living in the United States before the war. (Laws pre-dating Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor denied "Issei," or Japanese immigrants, the right to citizenship; only their children born in the United States ("Nisei") qualified for citizenship at that time.)[58] I could easily test participants' absorption of this fact through the survey with the following question:

Survey Question 14:

The majority of those interned were *Japanese citizens* who happened to be living in America at the time. Circle one answer.
True False I don't know

The pre-test survey helped gauge participants' knowledge of internee citizenship *before* exposure to my presentation, and the post-test survey gathered immediate feedback as to whether or not they absorbed the information in the presentation pertaining to this issue.

[57]Personal correspondence with Tom Ikeda, April 3, 2009. His interest in this question motivated its inclusion in the survey, and stems partly from his curiosity as to whether or not this fact would influence a person's opinion about internment.
[58] See Glossary of Terms, Densho web site, http://densho.org/default.asp?path=/assets/sharedpages/glossary.asp?section=home

Table 4.5 Question 14, Pre-test Survey Results

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	True	52	24.3	24.5	24.5
	False	93	43.5	43.9	68.4
	I don't know	67	31.3	31.6	100.0
	Total	212	99.1	100.0	
	Missing	2	.9		
Total		214	100.0		

As the table above illustrates, 43.9% of participants correctly characterized this statement as false before the presentation.[59] The second largest percentage of survey takers, 31.6%, did not know the answer. Almost a quarter of the participants, 24.5%, believed this statement to be correct. As discussed in Chapter 2, most of respondents interviewed in the qualitative portion of this study indicated that their education on Japanese internment to date is minimal—many describing it as a mere mention in a high school history class—so a finding that one-third of students surveyed did not know the nationality of those interned is not surprising.

There were three points in the presentation at which the 'citizenship ratio' of the camps is addressed. Early in the presentation, I read the following statement: *"The order [Executive Order 9066] allowed the government to designate military areas from which anyone could be excluded. Of the approximately*

[59] Valid percentages are discussed here, since there are two missing cases in the pre-test and one missing case in the post-test.

110,000 'evacuated,' 2/3 were American citizens."[60] The issue is reinforced in the newsreel (showed to all three treatment groups) that was produced by the US government to explain "evacuation" and "relocation" of the Japanese to the American public. In the first 60 seconds of the film, narrator Milton Eisenhower explains, "*When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, our West Coast became a potential combat zone. Living in that zone were more than a hundred thousand persons of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of them American citizens, one-third aliens."* Around minute 7:45, Eisenhower says of the Japanese children in the camps, "*their parents, most of whom are American citizens, and their grandparents, who are aliens…"*

Immediately after the presentation, the participants filled out the exact same survey and revisited Question 14:

Table 4.6 Question 14, Post-test Survey Results

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	True	86	40.2	40.4	40.4
	False	118	55.1	55.4	95.8
	I don't know	9	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	Missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

[60]This information is included within the first 10 slides of presentations for all three treatment groups.

After the presentation, 55.4% of the participants correctly identified the statement as false and a much lower percentage, 4.2%, did not know whether or not the statement is true or false. However, the percentage of those who believe the statement to be true grew considerably, to 40.4% of participants. The question format called for participants to rate an incorrect statement *false* in order to score correctly, which may have confused them.

The opportunity to test both comprehension and recall of the presentation content fell mostly within the in-depth interviews. My script included direct questions about information recall early in the interview, such as, "Can you tell me what you remember about the presentation?" and "What about the personal stories? Can you remember those?" Such direct questions seemed to put respondents on the spot, and often yielded a self-conscious claim of little memory. When asked about the topic of the presentation, Crystal (Written Group), said, "Japanese {laughs}…I don't wanna say the wrong answer." Fortunately, evidence of greater recall often surfaced at other points in the discussion as respondents answered questions aimed at gathering their opinion about a variety of related topics. My exchange with Elle (Video Group) illustrates this point. In discussing her emotional response to the presentation, she clearly seems to be describing two survivor stories (Frank Y.'s first testimony and Harvey's testimony):

> I think part of it for me was when they were talking about the families that owned shops or businesses and they just had to pack

> up and leave, or people who came home to their possessions destroyed or taken from their homes, I mean that certainly caused an emotion in me, 'cause I think, it's America, the country where you work hard, you get things, and you get success but I dunno, the government kind of took that away from them.

Immediately after she finishes that comment, I prod her for more by asking, "So how about the stories themselves…?" yet she says, "I don't remember specifically any of their stories, I'm sorry."

Discussions with interview respondents provide an opportunity to look more closely at the issue addressed in Question 14. The table below shows how all respondents answered on the pre- and post-tests. Respondents in the Written Group fared best on this survey question.[61]

[61] As noted in Appendix B, participants from the Written Group were drawn from classes entitled *Crime and Social Justice*, *Statistics*, *Introductory Sociology*, and *Morality and the Natural World*.

Table 4.7 Interview respondents' survey responses to Question 14			
Respondents' answers to citizenship question in survey	Control (n=7)	Video (n=7)	Written (n=7)
Pre- and post-test incorrect	1	1	1
Pre-test incorrect, post-test correct	1		1
Did not know answer in pre-test, gave incorrect answer for post-test	1	1	
Did not know answer in pre-test, gave correct answer for post-test	2	3	
Pre-test correct, post-test incorrect	1		1
Pre- and post-test correct	1	2	4

Densho's Ikeda wondered if testimonies would help viewers understand the citizenship ratio of the camps.[62] However, none of the survivors stories' included in the PowerPoint address the ratio of Americans to Japanese citizens in the camp. One survivor, Aki Kurose, recalls her reaction after her father tells her America has declared war on Japan: "But I thought, 'Why should it bother me?' You know, 'I'm an American.'" Her sense of identity began to shift when she encounters a teacher's hostility the day after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor. While her reflections are poignant, she is the only one of the eight survivors featured in this presentation to discuss her American nationality, so one would not expect

[62]Personal correspondence, April 3, 2009.

the addition of these particular testimonies to impact participants' understanding of the citizenship ratio.

Early in the interview, each respondent was asked about the citizenship of the internees. After inquiring about what they remembered about the presentation generally, I said: "There's often a lot of confusion about the citizenship of the majority of internees. Do you recall if they were mostly American citizens or mostly Japanese citizens?" Asking them in person yielded many more correct responses than did the surveys.

Table 4.8 Interview respondents' answers to citizenship ratio question in interview

N=21	Control (7)	Video (7)	Written (7)
Correct Answer	5	6	6
Incorrect Answer	1		1
Did Not Know	1	1	

As the table above indicates, all but four interview respondents answered correctly. However, very few answered this question *confidently* in either direction; more than half of all respondents gave a tenuous answer, i.e., they stated their response in the form of the question, said, "I think" or "if I remember correctly," or used some other qualifier to show that they were not confident of the correct answer. They did not always remain confident, either. Gary (Control Group) correctly answered the direct question that most were American citizens, but later said, "I don't remember it fully…."

Moreover, “correct” answers were not always 100% correct. Evan (Control Group) said, “Most of them were in America, not all of them certainly, but a large majority and everyone is a citizen pretty much.” Marcel (Control Group) described internment as “It was forced transportation of Japanese Americans, or suspected Japanese—it was more of I guess suspicious Japanese Americans but more Japanese descent.” “Suspicious Japanese” suggests he did not absorb the lesson that Japanese were interned in a wholesale fashion, on the basis of race. Just one student, Peter (Written Group), described the study topic specifically as internment of “Japanese and Japanese Americans.” He attributed a trip to Japan as an influence on his views on the topics discussed in this study, so his conscientiousness in distinguishing between Japanese nationals and Americans of Japanese descent makes sense. Only Bonnie (Video Group) recalled that specifically two-thirds of internees were American citizens. When explaining why she changed her answer (slightly, from “disagree” to “strongly disagree”) on the question about internment making the country safer, she said:

> The 60% of the people who were put into the internment camps who were actually US citizens, that, I mean, the fact that I can still kinda remember the number, and I think that I used it in another paper that I did or something… That's over half, I mean, that's ridiculous.

Yet, she scored Question 14 *incorrectly* (circling “true”) on both the pre- and post-test. This inconsistency supports the idea that the survey question wording may have confused participants.

Testing Retention and Comprehension with Qualitative Data

The in-depth interview data suggest which aspects of the presentation likely resonated and those which may have been misunderstood or missed entirely by the larger group of study participants.

Topic recall

Topic recall was excellent. Although some of the responses were not given in great detail or with total accuracy or confidence, 20 of 21 students were able to tell me the topic of the study. Alan's (Written Group) comment exemplifies a comment that contains some errors, but shows that he remembers what the presentation is about: "the Japanese getting sent away all from California because they were worried about all of them revolting." Two respondents, one female from the Control Group and another from the Video Group, answered correctly, but with some hesitancy about the subject matter. Nine students (three Control Group, three Video Group, three Written Group) confessed to not remembering much of the presentation. As mentioned, they often recalled more during our conversation than they originally estimated.

When asked about the topic, Crystal's (Written Group) memory is *emotional* but lacks *specificity*. She said only, "I just remember feeling bad about Japan." Marcel (Control Group) shared two anecdotes from his past that played out

similarly in the interview, and like Crystal, his memories were emotional but not factual. Asking him about the presentation's topic brought to mind a book on internment he read as a high school student. He could tell me that the story was from a young girl's perspective, recalled the book's images, and praised it as "very, very well written" and a "really, really good book" but could not remember the title. Later in the interview, he launched into a lengthy, detailed and animated discussion of the history class he had the previous semester. He described the professor's teaching method "a lecture in a story." He went back to visit her and praised her method as "the most effective" he'd ever had. He goes on to say, "It was incredible…. I just loved going to her lectures because it was literally like I was…listening to a book on tape every single lecture. And that's why I learned so much….. [i]t's the best I've ever done in class because of her teaching style." Although the experience was only a few months in the past, he could not remember the historical period she taught.

Structural elements

Eight students described some aspect of the *structure* of the study, such as my role (reading to them, showing them video,) or theirs (taking the surveys). Not surprisingly, five of these students were in the Written Group, which read witness accounts out of a packet—a slightly unusual activity. The woman who "felt bad about Japan" said at the start of our interview that she remembered more about

the format than the content. The following sections offer an overview of how well specific parts of the presentation fared with interview respondents.

Visual material

While all three versions of the PowerPoint contained photos, to my surprise, none of the images was mentioned specifically by any of the 21 participants interviewed. In fact, few respondents mentioned photos, but those who did seemed to find them important, even if they did not discuss them in great detail. Donny (Control Group), who explained that he's a "visual learner" who is able to "pick up on more information" from such data, did not go on to discuss specific photos although he did say, "the pictures in the presentation really helped." Not surprisingly, two students for whom the pictures played a critical role were both Asian. Ethel (Control Group) said, "And like, you actually got to see personal faces and you—well, of course, because I'm Asian descent so I…felt like a little bit more closer like connected to it" though she does not specify from which part of the presentation (newsreel or photos) she saw "the personal faces." She also explained how visual elements can move her emotionally from one place to another:

> …when I first took the survey I was like, 'Oh this is just history, like this is the way it goes' and I'm very like, 'You've got to get over it and move on past it' kind of person. So at first I was just like, 'Oh yeah.' But then I saw the slideshow and I saw like the shops and like…it's like the Holocaust museum, when you see all those shoes and you're like, 'Wow, people were actually like walking in those shoes and now they're all gone.'

Marcel (Control Group) said, “I feel like I remember more of the pictures [than] the presentation.” Later he said, “I feel a bit more compassion, especially in the view of the pictures.” When asked about personal experiences influencing his opinion, he once again brought up the pictures and his experiences, and those of family members, with racism.[63] In his tangential discussion about a previous history class, he said, “And then what helped even more was that she used pictures.” Ethel’s mention of shops notwithstanding, neither student’s recall of the photos was specific to the content of the photos (although one of Marcel’s comments refers to camp quarters, “in the book there were also images of how small like rooms were, just clothes—like they had to leave some stuff,” I was not clear if he recalled these scenes from the book he read in high school or my presentation).

Similarly, Elle (Video Group) explained, “it's like reading about the Holocaust versus seeing images of a concentration camp. You know like when you see dead bodies piled up, it really, it really kills you, versus reading about it and saying, you know, so many million people died.”

Being in the Control Group, the only video Jane saw was the newsreel. But when discussing her ability to imagine the experiences of internees, she mentions “the videos,” and said: “you can just picture yourself in that environment,” though she

[63] Marcel’s reaction to the photos with regards to race will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

qualified this statement with the caveat, "I mean I wouldn't say I have a great like understanding of like what they went through, I couldn't imagine it fully, but definitely some." However, when prompted, *she could not remember anything about the video*.

Not all of the respondents' experiences of the photos were positive; in fact, some were confused—and confusing. Dylan, (Video Group) who incidentally recalled the highest number of testimonies of all respondents, said she did not "remember as much" when asked directly about the photos. When asked what she thought would make the presentation more emotionally moving, she admits that she was *not* moved, and she says, "I don't even really remember any of the photos, so I guess that kind of says something…."[64] Later she mentioned the "homes, you know, ransacked with graffiti and everything…." Similarly, when discussing her emotional response to the presentation, Scarlet (Written Group) indicated that she thinks about the images of destroyed property when she thinks about the study. Her comment at this moment is telling: "it just made me really sad…and I can't remember what it was about so much, I just remember feeling like really sad and like really sorry for their situation and then especially…when they went back and all of their stuff had been broken into or stolen or whatever and the images of that have, like I think of that when I think about the study." Note that the photos I showed depicted a *Buddhist temple* that had been vandalized, and a desecrated cemetery, not a home. Respondents likely conflated these images with my

[64] Dylan's surprising reaction to the presentation will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

narration or testimony from Harvey, who speaks of his family returning home to looted and vandalized property.

When asked for an opinion about adding witness accounts to the presentation, Anne (Control Group) said, "when you put a human face to it, or human words to It, I think it means a lot more and I think we can make a better informed decision 'cause…it's [a] direct effect on human beings." At another point in the interview, she indicated that she was better able to imagine the internees' emotions and experiences after the presentation, which she attributed in the interview to "seeing photographs and hearing the statistics" but later in the same response says, "I think it would've been at the 5 if you'd included personal accounts and pictures of people." The presentation she saw features 12 photos that include Japanese people going through the evacuation process or inside the camps. In addition to these photos, the newsreel shows Japanese people being processed, transported, arriving at/processed into assembly centers, life inside assembly camps—eating, worshiping, studying, contributing to war effort, establishing community and civil life, etc. Japanese appear in most scenes, so her comment is perplexing.

Newsreel

When directly asked about their recall of the presentation, only five interview respondents mentioned or alluded to the newsreel, but the piece was mentioned

at other points in the interviews. Dylan's (Video Group) interview included a comment that is telling: "I guess that part [the newsreel] is sticking out the most to me because I keep referring to it {laughs}" yet her response to it was startling, and reflects a comprehension problem. She described the film as "propaganda," but then drew her understanding of the camp conditions from what she saw within it, minimizing the internee's suffering. Chapter 6 will include a more in-depth discussion of respondents' reaction to the newsreel.

Testimonies[65]

Fourteen interview respondents were exposed to testimony from Japanese interned in the camps: the seven respondents in the Video Group watched brief video interviews, and the seven respondent in the Written Group read transcripts of the same videos. Few recalled specific testimonies. All but two of those who recalled specific survivor stories were in the Video Group. Two respondents in each group could not remember anything about the testimonies. The chart below illustrates recall for each testimony, but does not account for partial memories recalled. Several students (four in the Written Group, one in the Video Group) gave vague responses that could not be traced to a specific testimony. For example, a female in the Written Group remembered something about a "younger child" (more than one survivor makes clear that they were young during the war). Another respondent in the Video Group said, "their businesses got ruined and their whole families were kind of separated." He could be recalling

[65] See Appendix K for transcripts of the testimonies.

Frank Y.'s discussion of businesses that had to be sold, Harvey's conversation about his family's house and farm that were vandalized and stripped of belongings, or Frank F.'s story (discussed below) about not seeing his father for many years—but it is unclear if his comment derives from these testimonies or from his memory of my narrated comments.[66]

Table 4.9 below illustrates that four of the eight testimonies were recalled specifically by respondents, and that only one student, Dylan (Video Group) recalled multiple testimonies. When testimonies were recalled, details about them were sparse. For example, none of the respondents who mentioned Frank Y's testimony about the loss of businesses commented on his main point: the paltry sum of money the proprietors received for store equipment and stock.

The testimony recalled by the most participants was given by Frank F. (five total respondents: four from the Video Group and one from the Written Group). Frank discussed a reunion with his father inside an internment camp. His father had been separated from the family for years during a period of Frank's maturation through puberty, and his appearance had transformed so much during their time apart that his father did not recognize him when he rejoined the family.[67] Of all of

[66] I discussed lost businesses and vandalized property, and the slides included photos demonstrating these events. I did not discuss family separation per se, but did inform participants that those who did not "pass" the loyalty questionnaire were transferred to segregation camps with heightened security.

[67] Although Frank does not clearly explain in this clip of his testimony, information from the Densho archive indicates that while the rest of his family were interned at the Tule Lake camp in

the survivors, Frank's emotions are easiest to witness—he fights back tears toward the end of the clip. Dylan (Video Group) notes that the clips she recalls (including Frank's) are "the most emotionally charged ones" and goes on to say that "obviously the one where the guy's dad didn't recognize him, that was obviously so hard for him, and you could really see that as he was talking." I suspect this display of emotion, coupled with the fact that he is recounting a story from his teenage years to men and women just out of their teens is why his story "stuck" more than others. (Recall that when asked to discuss the topic of the presentation, Marcel (Control Group) also discussed a novel he had read previously about a *young girl* interned in the camps.)

California, his father was interned at a separate, Department of Justice camp in Sante Fe, New Mexico.

Table 4.9 Testimony Recall by Interview Respondents and Treatment Group		
Testimony	**Video Group (n=7)**	**Written Group (n=7)**
Aki Kurose: recalls hostile reaction of teacher day after Pearl Harbor bombing		
Kara Kondo: describes her thoughts upon her family's evacuation and internment	Dylan	
Mas Wantanabe: recalls living at "Camp Harmony" assembly center		
Frank Yamasaki: discusses forced closing of businesses	Gina; Dylan; Elle	
Mutsu Homma: remembers "Are you a human being?" question from soldier		
Frank Yamasaki: describes mess hall food		
Frank Fuji: shares his reunion with father who didn't recognize him	Gina; Matt;[68] Dylan; Bonnie	Peter
Harvey Wantanabe: describes returning "home" after release from camp	Dylan; Elle	Scarlet
N=14		

[68] Matt's recall was vague, and he remembered the survivor as female instead of male.

Other respondents' comments confirm that a personal tie to the content of the story also seemed to play a factor in recall. Two of the women who recalled Frank Y's testimony about closing businesses are children of small-business owners. Gina (Video Group) works in her family's New York-based company and said, "it's now a big part of my life, so just having to leave the company…I just kind of compared myself like if I was in those situations how I'd be feeling, and obviously, not good." She was also particularly struck by the government newsreel because she is interested in marketing. Two Asian respondents discussed identifying with the internees based on race.[69] Crystal (Written Group) claimed to recall nothing of the survivor's stories, yet later credited the testimonies—which she said, "put me in the actual place"—with an increased ability to imagine the experiences of internees. She asked, "Was there one with a kid? Was there any children?" and said, "my memory's a little shaky, but I'm pretty sure that that's like what hit the button for me. I have a younger sister…."[70] Other students attribute their response to Frank F.'s story because of their own family relationships.

To my surprise, two of the more poignant testimonies were not mentioned by any of the 14 respondents exposed to them: Mutsu's memory of being asked by a guard if she was human, and Mas's dour recollection of being interned in the stalls which once housed farm animals at a former camp ground. Perhaps these

[69] Respondents' racial identification will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[70] Since she said only a "young child," I did not attribute this memory to a specific testimony.

experiences are too foreign to the respondents' life experience, and are thus tuned out and lost to memory?

Interviewees were asked for their opinion of first-person testimonies. Respondents unilaterally believed in testimonies as effective tools for engaging and enlightening the learner. These respondents from the Video Group spoke of emotion and specificity, versus aggregated information about faceless groups, and their responses were strikingly similar:

> [Y]ou can hear about how the situations were bad, but if you don't hear someone actually telling you how bad they were, and the type of environment that they were in, it doesn't really hit you, so I feel like those first-person accounts were really important, especially that, like, I remember some of them still a month ago. (Gina)
>
> I feel it kind of grounds it. Like if you say, 'Japanese suffered in internment camps,' that's one thing. But if you have someone saying, you know, face to face, like 'this is what I went through and it was horrible,' like it means a lot more, I think. And it kind of makes it more personal and it grounds it in like a testimony. (Liam)
>
> I think that's like some of the strongest evidence that you can bring to an argument…those emotions will play on other people's emotions… (Matt)
>
> "I think it does bring emotion to it, 'cause if you just lay out facts, people can just like blow you off, but if you see someone's personal story and see how it actually influenced them, you're more likely to relate to them on some level." (Bonnie)

Peter and Alan from the Written Group articulate what *visual testimonies* bring to the table. Characterizing them as "always the most effecting," Peter explained that, "Because sometimes people say things and…their emotions or their facial

expressions may tell something else, and…it's easier to empathize with these people, you can see the people that were part of this history, as opposed to reading something….” Although Alan originally said he did not think that additional video testimonies would have altered his experience of the presentation because I “showed enough to capture the attention that it was a really bad thing,” he later suggested adding video, “because you can see pictures but it only does so much unless you’re hearing it. Like…instead of reading the testimonies, maybe if you heard someone saying it.”

Even those students whose memory was almost blank on the details of the testimonies felt strongly about their importance, and indicated that exposure to them boosted empathy. Both Crystal and Rina (both in the Written Group) could not remember anything more than that they had been exposed to a testimony about a younger child. Yet Rina described the one she recalled as “very chilling” (and said “I always feel that way” about personal accounts). When asked to describe why, she said “I guess just 'cause they're true and…you like feel closer to the person because that's what they actually said” which allows you to imagine their situation. Crystal offered:

> I feel like when you learn about an individual, when you're reading what they're saying to you, it's almost as if they're speaking to you, and you get a sense of the person and who they are, and it's like a natural concern for another human being, kind of. And when it's like a group, it's about the numbers and statistics and you don't really know anything about the individual people and their personalities and if they were good people, bad people, or anything like that.

Rina and Crystal, especially, echo Hirsch's (2004:18) description of learners' responses to personal accounts, though she was writing about Holocaust testimonies: "students come into contact with individual witnesses who seem to be addressing them, directly, as listeners."

I also asked respondents in the Control Group to reflect, hypothetically, on the role of testimonies in a presentation like mine. Ethel giggled and said she thought the addition of interviews with internees "would definitely change everything." When asked to elaborate, she said, "Because I'm the kind of person where on paper I just like read it over and like I'm memorizing…you know when you study things and it just doesn't affect you as much but then when I meet a person I instantly change my emotions…it leaves a lasting impression. Because, you know, it becomes personal then." Evan thinks testimonies "seem to be a powerful tool in presentations" and referenced the History Channel, with "that deep male narration voice in the background." Jane believes personal testimonies are more evocative because "it's almost like they're a celebrity…someone who's actually lived through that and is able to tell firsthand what it was like" versus a textbook author who is, like her, reliant on second-hand information. Gary offered that a first-person account "makes you like learning…it kind of puts a face on what's happening…. When it comes from a person who actually lived through it…it gives you much better insight and you can like find out what they felt and how, and what their reactions were to the whole thing…having a first-hand account of

things like that always makes it…better and easier to understand, to get the whole picture…."

At different points in the interview and without prompting, some respondents brought up testimonies from other experiences in their lives. Gary (Control Group), during a discussion of American culpability for internment, began to talk about his grandparents and said (of a deceased grandfather), "if he were alive, I would probably like to talk to him about it, because I think it's interesting to hear first-hand accounts." Jane (Control Group) referenced her ancestors' "first-hand experience" of the Holocaust (one of whom wrote a book) and said "you are just kind of more drawn to it." Marcel (Control Group), who believes, "first-person narratives are very, very powerful," recalled a high school health class experience in which a smoker with an artificial voice box visited the class ("and that was like, whoa, like it hits you."). Crystal's (Written Group) grandfather experienced the Civil Rights Movement, of which he spoke frequently, so she "knew a lot information from [the] first-person view." When asked during our conversation if her Arupe service trip to the US/Mexican border influenced her, Anne (Control Group) offered, "we did interact a lot with the immigrants. We stayed in a migrant shelter one night, and our guide was from Mexico and everything, so I think those personal accounts like really affected me and immediately I was like, this is all wrong, we should tear down the wall, we should let these people in," though she admits that her feelings fluctuated upon talking to customs agents

and ultimately left her "more confused." Similarly, Ethel (Control Group) said, "on paper it's very easy to distinguish black and white like, 'oh we definitely should.'[71] But I feel like if I met the person I would want to give everything and be like, 'Oh no, like, stay with me." Or like, 'We'll figure a way out.' So that's why because I'm very…easily persuaded once I see somebody. {giggles}"

Statistics

Respondents had mixed reactions to the statistical information included in the presentation. In some cases, the statistical information was pivotal. As discussed, the citizenship ratio statistic was recalled by only one respondent Bonnie (Video Group), who mentioned that she used the statistic in a paper for another class after the presentation. For Anne (Control Group), learning about the magnitude of Japanese evacuation caused her to change some of her survey answers. She was better able to imagine what internees felt and experienced, and explained why this way: "I think seeing the photographs and hearing the statistics…and how people were put in these camps and feeling like a tiny person, and this huge statistic…like how many people, like a hundred thousand? Just made it more real to me I guess." Also, she attributed her answer change on Question 19 from characterizing internment as "problematic but necessary" to "fundamentally wrong" in part to statistics and "the lack of reasoning for it."

[71] It's not clear here what "we should" means; she is possibly referring to interning the Japanese after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Comments from some respondents indicate that statistical information is less effective than visual information, because facts and figures are not as relatable. Visual information brings an authenticity that other data cannot. When discussing why photos are important, Elle (Video Group) noted, "We like to think in terms of statistics. I think the human is very analytical in nature, and everyone likes to see a pie graph…. But to actually see pictures of those things, it gives [a] more narrative approach to it and I think it's easier to remember…or it triggers emotions, I suppose." Similarly, Gary (Control Group) said, "instead of just hearing statistics you're hearing like real firsthand accounts and stories and it kind of humanizes the people we are learning about, rather than just being like names on a page…." Gina (Video Group) offered, "there's a lot of numbers and stats thrown around but, it doesn't really mean anything until you see someone discussing what happened." For Evan, however, it boils down to credibility. In explaining why he thinks internment made America safer but moved down one notch on the scale in the post-test said, "You gave us that quote that there was a negligible security risk…you know, but what are statistics at the end of the day? You can play with statistics to get them to say whatever you want them to say." Even though he was misremembering the presentation, i.e., there was no "statistic" about risk posed by the Japanese, I asked him if he was trying to say that perhaps there was a greater risk than the statistics show. He replied, "Yeah, I mean, that's one statistic…how many times is the government wrong honestly? A statistic doesn't prove the point that there was no security risk." Yet, many

students—Elle, Gary and Evan among them—believe that statistical information about propensity toward crime is a reason to support the racial profiling of a group.[72]

Retention and Comprehension Difficulty[73]

Fundamental lessons missed

Analysis of the interview data revealed areas where respondents had difficulty with recall or comprehension. Some of these issues involved fundamental lessons of the presentation. As discussed, I designed the PowerPoint presentation that served as the experiment stimulus with specific teaching goals in mind, which I created and outlined in Chapter 2. These goals guided narration development and the selection of photos and testimonies. Among them were these significant learning objectives for participants, that were missed by a few students in spite of clear efforts to communicate these ideas.:

- Racism motivated the government's decision to intern the Japanese, and ordinary Americans' tolerance and support of that decision;
- The Japanese endured sub-par living conditions inside the camps which exacerbated their suffering; and
- The impacts of internment on the Japanese, and on the communities they left behind, were devastating and widespread.

Racism

The pictures, text and narration (for all treatment groups) aimed to establish a historical precedent of racism dating back to the turn of the century, when

[72] Gina (Video Group) implied a similar opinion by explaining she was all right with inconvenience, "if I'm identified with a group who can cause really big problems for the country."
[73] Refer to the PowerPoint presentation slides in Appendix A.

immigration from Japan was curtailed and eventually stopped all together. Early in the presentation, I explained how racism was legislated into our country through citizenship laws (Japanese and other Asian immigrants would not qualify for American citizenship until 1952) and property laws (only citizens could own land). One slide featured a photograph of a land lease agreement. Subsequent slides depicted the effects of racism on property left behind by internees, and a shopkeeper's sign demonstrates that racism against Japanese lingered beyond the end of the war. Still, when asked why they thought the average American allowed the government to intern their neighbors and in some cases their friends, two respondents Marcel (Control Group), Chris (Written Group) *did not think anti-Asian sentiment played a role* and they instead attributed internment to post-Pearl Harbor hysteria.[74] When offering his opinion of why Japanese were interned and Germans and Italians were not, Marcel (Control Group) blamed racial *difference* ("most Germans are Caucasian") and scapegoating, but prefaced his comment with "I don't want to say because they are Asian. I don't think Americans were racist at that point."

Camp Conditions

My results suggest that all of the respondents did not absorb the fact that living conditions inside the camps were poor, in spite of several attempts to make this point clear through photos, slide text and narration. Of the initial "assembly

[74] Marcel was adopted from Korea into a mixed-race family living in America. Chris is a Caucasian American.

centers" housing the Japanese before internment, I noted, "they were shocked to see barbed-wired fences, guard towers, and searchlights. People were housed in animal stalls and barracks with communal bathrooms and mess halls. Shortages of food and deplorable sanitation were common." I showed photos of a bathroom with a row of sinks, and a family moving into a barren structure, and said that "each barrack was divided into four or six rooms with each room housing one family, no matter how large, and there was no running water" and "the furnishings that incarcerees found on their arrival were canvas cots, a potbellied stove, and a single bare light bulb." Over a photo of a barrack covered in snow, I said, "the thin walls offered little protection from the harsh weather, which ranged from 110 degrees in the summer to 25 degrees below zero on winter nights." A picture with medical staff working inside what looks like a tent was accompanied by this statement: "Medical and dental facilities were for the most part inadequate, lacking in both equipment and staff. Incarcerees recall outbreaks of food poisoning, tuberculosis and dysentery epidemics, and preventable deaths of patients and newborns."

While showing a photo of a makeshift camp cemetery, I told them that internees had to exhume remains of loved ones after the war. I also included a photo of a wedding party, and a church service held in a mess hall, to communicate to participants that the Japanese were interned long enough to celebrate many

milestones, and that observing rituals necessitated improvisation within the confines of camp.

The presentations with testimonies also included survivors discussing harsh camp conditions and treatment:

- Kara recalled the gates enclosing her and barbed wire surrounding the camp.
- Mas described living in overcrowded stalls that had housed farm animals at a camp ground-turned-assembly center.
- Mutsu was asked if she was a human being by a guard.
- Frank Y. discussed the fine dust that permeated the air and the food.

Three students (two in the Control Group, one in the Written Group) made outright references to poor living conditions inside the camps. But even an acknowledgment of poor conditions does not represent an opinion change. Evan (Control Group) admitted that he "didn't realize how bad the camps were" yet in other points in the interview, his comments seemed to minimize internees' suffering. He referred to their situation as "discomfort" and "obviously sub-standard living conditions" when refuting the idea that a group maligned by the government should be allowed to sue: "it's hard to go back and say that this discomfort was clearly wrong in the modern mindset and to go and sue them" because, he believes, the Japanese may have posed a risk to America.

Other student's remarks indicated that they were not convinced that that camp living caused much suffering. Anne (Control Group), reflecting on what witness accounts might add, said:

> …[J]ust hearing that they're in prison sounds horrible, but who knows if the conditions were like fine and if it was just a little camp they were in for a day or like for however long they were, or maybe the conditions were horrible and they were treated horribly, so just to hear that would've made it more clear to how the camps were.

Scarlet (Written Group) clearly recalled that the Japanese returned to devastation at home, but seemed to miss the level of privation and suffering experienced in the camps: "I especially remember the parts where they would go home, where maybe conditions weren't so bad in the camps, they would go home and like, all their stuff had been stolen and stores had been broken into and what not, so, that's the high points of what I remember."

Dylan (Video Group), who recalled the most testimonies, revealed the most disturbing comprehension problem concerning camp conditions across all treatment groups. She clearly understood the newsreel as a contrived effort of the government to spin the situation for the American public, saying, "it was basically propaganda of how, obviously by the government, about how pleasant the experience was and how they were all very compliant and how they were gonna have, you know, adequate places to live and facilities and whatever and then basically that was just contrasted with what you actually saw…." Unexpectedly, she went on to say, "although I didn't think that the documentary you showed us

really, I was expecting it to reveal a lot more horrific {slightly laughs} things. It didn't really make it seem as bad as I thought it was, if that makes sense. I was just expecting it to be a little more, not graphic but um, representative of like how bad it, like when they were showing the actual footage it didn't seem horrible, it didn't seem as reprehensible as I expected." These comments suggest that in one respect she knew she was watching a propaganda piece, but in another, believed the footage to be *accurately representative* of life inside the camps. Later in the interview, she said, "Like the way that they showed it was just basically people {laughs a bit} living in barracks like {laughs} I don't know, it just didn't, I mean, and they show that they built, they built little houses, little huts for them {sort of laughing as she says this}."[75]

Consequences of internment and its aftermath

Some interview respondents from each treatment group retained the message that internment had significant and pervasive impacts on the lives of the Japanese. The loss of economic opportunity and personal property resonated most with respondents. A smaller number of students mentioned internees' difficulty rebuilding lives post-internment and the loss of family ties. Chris (Written Group) stated, "When I first heard of it, I didn't connect how harshly it affected the Japanese Americans like emotionally and family and socially… Like before…you came into the class, I didn't realize how bad it was" (he believed the testimonies aided his comprehension). Ethel (Control Group) said, "I just

[75] Dylan's reaction is discussed further in Chapter 6.

remembered the impression it gave me was, 'oh like, people were actually taken away from their homes."

But, as mentioned, others either downplayed the consequences or made statements that showed they were not aware or convinced that conditions were bad inside the camps. When discussing his emotional response to the presentation, Evan (Control Group) erroneously reasoned that "no one died" [as a result of internment] and discussed other regimes and historical periods to justify why internment should not be considered that bad:

> I understood their lives were uprooted, it was not handled the best it could have been, at the same time, you look at Germany, I mean, the Holocaust, obviously they were just slaughtering people, Russia when they've done this sort of thing, China, I know a little about Chinese history. When these sort of events happen, the first tactic is to just kill everyone and ask questions later, so it was obviously…a very terrible situation but I tried to kind of quantify that in terms of what was going on in the air.[76]

Perhaps Evan's comment is evidence of what Baer (2001:493) describes as an "extreme form of relativism resulting in the blurring of boundaries between fact and fiction" that some believe is a result of the proliferation of historical storytelling through the popular media such as films and television. In fact, Evan said he was once a "WWII buff," but described his formal education on WWII as

[76] Citing Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Ikeda noted that of the 120, 313 Japanese persons interned by the War Relocation Authority, 1,862 (~1.5%) died in custody. (Personal communication, August 30, 2011.)

"a paragraph in a textbook," so he possibly culled a lot of his knowledge from popular sources.[77]

A trouble spot for many respondents concerned the issue of government apology and restitution. The last portion of the presentation, for all treatment groups, began with a slide entitled "Apology and Restitution" and states that Japanese Americans who were incarcerated received a presidential apology and a $20,000 restitution payment. A photo shows a 105 year-old man, seated in front of what looks to be a walker, receiving his check. I anticipated that this picture, and narration that conveyed the effort and time needed to secure an apology and restitution, would be powerful. Only one interview respondent, a male in the Written Group, mentioned the age of survivors upon restitution. Many seemed unclear if an apology and restitution was even made. An interview question early in the discussion asked, "Sometimes, as in the case of Japanese internment, the government later realizes it made a mistake. What do you think should happen, if anything?" This question would sometimes launch a discussion about reparations in general, or the futility of government apologies, without making it clear to me if they recalled whether or not the US government *did* officially apologize and pay money to former internees. In fact, the answers of thirteen students made it difficult to determine if they actually remembered whether or not the government

[77] Discussing the Holocaust, Baer (2001:494) notes that "massive audiences derive their historical knowledge from products of mass culture."

formally apologized and compensated the Japanese financially. Some students asked directly if there was an apology.

Overlooked topics

Data from the interviews suggest that some of my broader teaching goals may not have penetrated the larger population of participants in the study. For example, photos and narration endeavored to communicate the broader implications of the government's deep suspicion of Japanese citizens' loyalty to the United States (and the irony of drafting young men inside the camps while their families remained incarcerated by their own government). I had imagined that students in a Jesuit school would respond to learning that Japanese were denied freedom of religion inside the camps, but this point was not mentioned by any student. No respondent discussed the "life cycle" issues I strove to portray through photos and text.

Unexpected interpretations

There were several kinds of unexpected responses in the interviews. A few students offered an interpretation when asked for a mere regurgitation of fact**,** a phenomenon which I thought of as "layering on meaning." Evan (Control Group) offered these kinds of responses twice, early in the interview, when asked recall questions. Regarding the content of the presentation, his answer reflects an

interpretation of what he assumed I was saying (that implies a bias on my part) rather than a factual reporting the subject of the presentation:

> You were kind of asking questions, did they respond enough, was like enough of a big deal made, did the government correctly apologize, was the situation handled, and then, how do you kind of reconcile that in the present, present day.

Later when discussing the citizenship of camp internees, he offered, 'I remember you saying they did a study and they found it was unreasonable to have done that because the Japanese in America didn't really pose a risk at all.' My narration never offered my personal opinion, but instead stated, "In fact, a report commissioned by President Roosevelt in November of 1941 determined that the great majority of Japanese Americans did not pose a threat to national security in the event of war with Japan. But the government still worried about sabotage and espionage among the Japanese community in the US."

Similarly, Chris (Written Group) described the topic of the study this way:

> I believe um the central focus, it was about the internment camps in the post-Pearl Harbor attack and sort of how, our, like America's response towards Japanese Americans in the country and how our government handled the situation, um I think it was, what I remember, it was mainly in the western United States, they sort of took a lot of Japanese American families and individuals and put them in internment camps and the various camps across, I still believe it was the Western United States, and essentially the, what you were trying to get at, was, you know, is this moral, is this right, and you sort of asked a bunch of questions about what we thought about it, you know, sort of was, is the nation's security, is that gonna, will that suffice to put these people, they lose all their businesses, they lose, they get disconnected from their families, is that OK for our country, I know that was the premise of it, I believe.

Dylan (Video Group) characterized the survey as asking for participants' "moral stance on the internment before and after we viewed the video." In a sense, asking if they believed internment to be "fundamentally right," "fundamentally wrong," or somewhere in between may be interpreted as a moral stance, but this response still belies the broader scope of the project. One can presume that these respondents were reacting to the subtext in my presentation, created through juxtapositions in content. For example, the government newsreel depicts cheery Japanese going about daily life inside the camps, while the photographs, text and testimonies reveal harsh conditions.

Donny's (Control Group) initial response to my recall question was correct yet succinct: "It was about Japanese internment camps during WWII," so I prompted him for more. He said, "It was more like how we weren't being taught it in schools and how there were a lot of details left out in school…I don't remember learning half the stuff in the presentation that I did in like any history class that I've ever taken." Similarly, Anne (Control Group) said, "I feel like the issue that was addressed mostly was the balance between freedom and having rights in our country and the security that comes with that, or like, that balance that comes with that, if you have more security, there's going to be less freedom, if you have more freedom, there's going to be less security."

Sometimes, there were interpretations to questions that I did not foresee. The most common example occurred when I asked respondents about the rights of non-citizens. Some students automatically assumed I was referring to *illegal aliens* instead of the more general circumstance of a person in the US who is not a citizen. When I explained to Chris (Written Group) that I meant anyone who is not a citizen, he said, thoughtfully, "Interesting….", as if the possibility of a legal non-citizen was revelatory. This could be due to the large amount of media attention focused on immigration issues at the time of the interviews (see Chapter 1).

Between the pre- and post-test, Rina (Written Group) changed her answer as to whether or not her first reaction when a person or group is wronged is to wonder what they did to provoke the situation (Question 5) from 4, agree, to 5, strongly agree. On the surface, this change in response would be perceived as a move toward a less tolerant standpoint. However, her explanation reveals her reasoning was quite contrary to this assumption:

> some people are convicted of certain things but haven't done anything wrong, so you should…definitely want to know the answer because…they may have done something wrong, or they may not have at all, and so like you should always question what they did to come away with that.

Dylan (Video Group) gave two unexpected interpretations. When I tried to elicit her opinion about the right of the government to confiscate a citizen's personal property in a time of peace and a time of war, she seemed a little less

disapproving of the government taking property after the presentation. She explained: “Yeah, I mean if you don't pay your rent your house is going to get taken away. {laughs} There was my head was with that.” This response was especially interesting given that her immigrant father found financial success in real estate. She also shifted her answer on the question pertaining to blaming someone who is wronged, moving slightly in her answer to a more neutral position (2 to 3 on the scale) and explained that she did not think that really represented a true shift in her feelings. But added, “I was sort of confused as to what you meant by ‘wronged.’ Like whether or not someone is actively being, being you know, picked on, actively having something done to them, or wronged in a more passive sense, of like, um, you know, not getting something that they wanted.”

When asked about his future behavior, Gary (Control Group) seemed to understand that I was asking him to impact the past, “I honestly don't think so, I don't know what I would do to change something that happened back during the war, like the Japanese internment camp, but like…I wouldn't say that I would do anything differently.”

Regarding the practice of indefinite detention, Ethel explained her response this way: “Well my first reaction when I heard that question was because like I have this like view of the government just being lazy and not doing anything because

like my friend's parents work for the government and they really have nothing to do all day. Like she tells me, too, she's like, 'They don't give them any jobs.' Like, of course, the workers are willing to work but the government just doesn't give them any jobs their way. So I guess, like, get on it and start doing something about it instead of just keeping those people in detention because, you know, there are people willing to work…."

Mis-remembering, or mis-placing a memory

Rina (Written Group), when asked about average Americans' culpability for internment, prefaced her comments concerning Japanese vandalized property and closed businesses by saying that the American government had told citizens not to buy from the Japanese. There are two sections of the presentation which discuss the economic losses of the Japanese, and neither indicate that the government told Americans not to buy from them. Perhaps she recalled the Nazis' prohibition of patronizing Jewish businesses in Germany and confused Jewish and Japanese experiences.

At times, the respondents remembered aspects of the presentation incorrectly, or where they heard a fact. In other instances, they came up with their own (incorrect) facts. One male respondent in the Video Group mis-remembered the gender of a survivor, describing Frank F.'s story, but referring to a "little girl" who was separated from her father, and left out a key component: the fact that a

father did not recognize his child after the long separation (although he does remember this in another segment of our interview). Two men, both in the Written Group, made geographical mistakes. One said the interned Japanese all came from California, and another said all the camps were in the West Coast. The narration explained, "In March of 1942, the government widened their targeted focus from 'enemy aliens'…to the general Japanese population and began what they called their 'evacuation' from the West Coast…." Of the camps, the participants were told that the assembly centers were in California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona and that for transfer to permanent detention facilities, internees were transferred to "desolate regions of the country." This distinction is fairly minor, and such a mistake could be made easily by someone with little prior education about this chapter of American history. There were other such instances of insignificant "memory mistakes."

Some specific facts of the presentation did not "stick." In the interviews, I tried to find out respondents' opinions about the government's reason for removing Japanese from the West Coast, which is described in the newsreel. Milton Eisenhower, then head of the War Relocation Authority, explains that Japanese residents were living close to a Naval air base, ship yards, and oil wells, and that fishermen were near America's fleets and farmers were near an air craft assembly plant. He goes on to say that the first step was getting them away from "critical areas such as these" in a process they characterized as a "limited evacuation"

which had to be rectified by moving all Japanese in case of an invasion on US soil by Japan. In the interviews, I asked the students: "Do you think the government was legitimate in their worry about having Japanese living on the edges of the country, near sites like oil wells and ship yards? Why/why not?" A male respondent from the Control Group seemed to have no recollection of this part of the newsreel, and a female in the same group asked, "A lot of them worked in oil?"

Gaps in historical knowledge

Finally, comments from the interviews suggest that contemporary college students' opinions about America's internment of the Japanese may be influenced by a lack of factual information about WWII more generally. Respondents' comments reveal incomplete or faulty knowledge about the countries involved in the war and their geo-political power relative to one another, and the threat the Axis powers posed to the US. Most of these comments surfaced when I asked them why they believed Japanese were interned en masse while the Italians and Germans were not. But other questions were revealing as well, sometimes eliciting an anachronistic statement. When asked if the government's worry about the Japanese in America was legitimate, Liam's response included the comment, "nuclear threat [was] imminent." Rina (Written Group), contemplating if mass internment of a people could happen again in the US, said [of the US government at the time]: "obviously they knew that the

Holocaust was bad and yet put the Japanese in internment camps anyways…." Thinking critically about a distinct sub-topic of WWII history such as Japanese internment is difficult without more than a cursory understanding of the war itself.

Discussion of Findings

Members of all treatment groups, including those in the Control Group who were not exposed to them, validated the use of testimonies as important tools for understanding difficult human experiences. Many students offered that delivering the testimonies through audiovisual means was especially effective. Experts help explain why oral history works, and why audio visual formats in particular work well.

Instead of viewing them as accurate historical records, oral histories are valuable, Portelli (2006) believes, in providing insight about the human impact of the event or phenomenon. He (2006:38) notes that memory is "an active process of creation of meanings" and that its value comes from "the narrator's effort to make sense of the past and to give a form to their lives, and set the interview and the narrative in their historical context." While some question the information that is filtered through memory—such as my respondent Peter (Written Group) who characterized them as being "framed" by the informant over time—Portelli (2006) posits that testimonies' "inherent nonobjectivity" are their most valuable asset. Hartman (2001) echoes this sentiment, touting their unscripted,

unpredictable nature. Thompson (2006) asserts that testimonies also provide an alternative to the dominant discourse of society.

Using video to teach with testimonies makes sense both because of the ubiquity of media in everyday life and its demonstrated effectiveness in the classroom. For decades now, researchers (for example, Hartman 1991 and 2004a; Sturken and Cartwright 2001; Baer 2001) have been describing the current moment in terms of its immersion in technology, particularly media technology. In fact, Burton, writing in 1988, noted that "[t]oday's students are born into a multimedia world" (263) and cited research to show that even two decades prior, our culture was becoming visual (Jones 1967). This line of thought has only continued. Pescosolido refers in 1990 to the "visual orientation of many students in the current generation" (337) and Ito *et al.*, in 2008, describe a multitude of electronic devices permeating the everyday lives of modern youth. Several researchers have written about teaching sociology with media, including film (Pescosolido 1990; Prendergrast 1986), excerpts from reality TV (Misra 2000), photographs (Hanson 2002), television news clips (Bonomo 1987) and videos with a local theme (Hoffman 2006). Hartman (2004a) wrote about the use of video in schools as well as museums, and characterized video testimonies as "an extension of oral tradition under modern circumstances" (2001:51).

Conducting a study in which written transcripts of testimonies were tested alongside videotape testimonies provided evidence of what many writers assert: written data simply cannot provide as full of a picture as testimony delivered through audiovisual means. Written Group respondents Alan and Peter both suggested this, unprompted. The experts helps us identify why, exactly, written transcripts are inferior substitutes. The information is mediated through the transcriber, who may bring his or her own meaning to bear on the story, and often forces spoken thoughts to conform to the rules of written communication for the reader (Portelli 2006). Johnston's (2008) students discovered this for themselves when he had them read a transcript while listening to an audio tape of the same interview of a veteran. They found that they were better able to discern his emotions through audio means (even though they were only listening and not seeing him). The transcription was sanitized of some of his emotion. They could also see that the transcriber had smoothed out a lot of the informant's speech. Even pauses can be loaded with meaning, so too, the speed with which a person tells a story (Portelli 2006). Portelli (2006:34-35) notes that social class differences can be detected in speech patterns:

> This is even more true when folk informants are involved: they may be poor in vocabulary but are often richer in range of tone, volume and intonation than middle-class speakers who have learned to imitate in speech the monotone of writing.

If video is the most effective way to present a testimony, why is it so? Some researchers, such as Misra (2000) and Burton (1988), suggest that relying on two

senses is what makes the difference in audiovisual material. Others offer specific aspects of audiovisual formats that are useful. Both Portelli (2006) and Frisch (2006) write about the physicality that is conveyed through audiovisual means. Writing specifically of witness testimonies, Hartman (1991) talks about the "immediacy" of video, and the "unusually direct yet nonvoyeuristic and visually ascetic transcription of the bearing and concerns of the people interviewed" (2004a:211). He also notes that using an audiovisual format of witness testimonies "counteracts the media's tendency to reduce lives to bytes of information and an endless repetition of visual clichés" and "modifies the coldness of technology by strengthening the communal implications of the act of filming: a less artificial image is created, a representation that places the interview at the center and is not afraid of the talking-head format" (Hartman 2004a:209). Sturken and Cartwright (2001) posit that the strength of visual testimonies lies in the fact that emotion can be detected this way, echoing a similar statement by Hartman (2004a).

The interview data gathered in this study caution that intended interpretations cannot be assumed. Whether testimonies are shared in written, audio or video format, one cannot be sure that viewers will understand them in the desired way. Sturken and Cartwright (2009:49) believe that texts can have multiple meanings and explain that "images generate meanings" beyond that which is planned. The writers describe a process in which the viewer formulates meaning:

> The production of meaning involves at least three elements beside the image itself and its producer: (1) the codes and conventions that structure the image and that cannot be separated from the content of the image; (2) the viewer and how they interpret or experience the image; and (3) the contexts in which an image is exhibited and viewed (Sturken and Cartwright 2009:49).

The newsreel included in this presentation provides a useful example because it was received by the interview respondents in many, sometimes multiple, ways. Gina (Video Group), whose interest in marketing increased her attention to it, noted that it generated feelings of patriotism while at the same time disappointing her. Dylan (Video Group) recognized the piece as propaganda—yet believed its messages.

Sturken and Cartwright (2001:47) note that a person's internalized experience of an image is dependent on "the social orientation of the viewer and by the context of the viewing." Two comments from respondents underscore the importance of these factors to meaning-making. When asked about future behavior, Ethel (Control Group) said, "It's also an in-class day…and I'm just like…'Oh, this is another lesson I need to know.' I try not to have emotional attachments to things, I guess." Her response might be different if she viewed the material in a museum she chose to visit on her own, but she referenced her Korean/Asian background many times when explaining her and her family's emotional response (or lack thereof)—so maybe not. Peter (Written Group) spoke about a book about internment he read in high school: "I think maybe because it was an English

class, they sort of looked at [the book] as a moment in time and used that as a narrative base, as opposed to really talking about the politics of anything." The opportunity for a critical approach to the text is likely lost in such an isolated presentation of the material.

Before meanings can be processed, the material must be understood and remembered, and my study helped illuminate how to achieve those goals. My interviewees often recalled more through our conversations of their survey answers and related issues than through direct questioning, which lacked the pressure of a confrontational, quiz-like situation. In determining which testimonies were remembered most and why, I discovered that the survivor who displayed the most emotion was remembered far more than any other. Frank F. recounts, with obvious pain, a reunion inside the camp with a father who was away so long that he does not recognize him upon his return. Of all the survivors featured in the presentation, his emotions are the easiest to see on his face. It could be that his display in turn sparked emotion in the respondents. Both Abrahamson (1998) and Burton (1988) assert that a lasting memory is facilitated by strong emotional response, with Burton suggesting that this is most true if the heart is engaged *before* the mind.[78] However, my respondents' experiences often mirrored my own with the veteran's elevator testimony discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, and suggest that memories can be emotional—

[78] Specifically, Burton (1988:264) says, "The things we remember the longest are the things that have emotional impact before they have intellectual impact."

and influential—but lack clarity with regard to factual information. They provided numerous examples in which they claimed to have been moved by the testimonies (or material from past learning experiences using personal narrative), yet could regurgitate little more than a sparse outline of the survivor's story. Perhaps in terms of outcome, the specific details are secondary to the emotion generated.

My data also indicated that a personal "hook" of some kind in the testimony seemed to make it last in a respondent's memory. Trost (2009:184), citing research of Symons and Johnson's 1997 research, wrote, "Cognitive psychologists know that learning happens best when instructors help students make connections to what they already know, connections to their own lives, and relate new material to their own experiences." Frank F.'s story about his reunion with his father is also coming of age story, which is likely why it resonated with my respondents. They range in age from their late teens to their early twenties, so chances are high that they could easily place themselves inside his story. Hearing from an age peer, or from someone who was an age peer at the time of the story, then, is important. Note that fiction featuring young people and memoirs, (such as *Anne Frank*, which continues to be beloved by young fans many decades after its release) are used by many educators teaching about the war. Four of my respondents mentioned such books about Japanese internment that they had

read in high school.[79] Beyond identifying with the story of a teenage internee, my respondents found other entry points to relate to, and remember the stories of, the camp survivors. Whether it was the children of small business owners recalling stories about lost businesses or Asian students feeling an affinity through the race of the survivors, it was clear that respondents who saw some association in the presentation to their own background remembered that piece of my talk. More than one of my respondents indicated that close family ties caused them to be moved by Frank F.'s story of his father. Echoing Sturken and Cartwright's (2001) opinion discussed above, Matt said, "I guess it depends on what's important to the person viewing it, I was, for me the family thing was like important to me but that might be different for someone else." Johnston (2008) had similar results when working with high school students who researched and wrote about a WWII cavalry division. Part of their participation entailed reading transcriptions of oral histories conducted with veterans. Students found their interest piqued by descriptions of a veteran's childhood, mainly because his recollections were so different than their own. He also discovered that the subjects were spurred on by finding similarities to their own lives in the stories of the veterans. One girl had had a lot of dental work, and so connected with the part of the story discussing rudimentary dental equipment used without anesthetic; fans of music liked his references to the Army band. A student of color

[79] Ethel and Peter remembered titles, which were *Obasan* (fiction) and *Farewell to Manzanar* (memoir told through child's perspective), respectively. Marcel described his book as "a story about a young girl" and Bonnie, "a Romeo and Juliet love story about an American white boy and [an] American citizen Japanese girl but she was forced into the internment camps…."

read with interest material about minorities in the armed services. Johnston (2008:161) also discovered that students were *not* interested in "people, places and things with which the participants were unfamiliar, or topics irrelevant to their personal interests."

In conclusion, oral history narratives, particularly those conveyed through video, are effective tools to help students understand the lived experience of others. Although interpretations are not static, recall and comprehension seem improve if viewers identify commonalities between their own lives and those of the testimony givers, which serve as "entry points." Witnessing authentic human emotion in the story tellers also helps give the testimony staying power. People remember more than they report when asked directly, but sometimes their memories were of their emotional response to the stories, and not of the particulars of the stories themselves.

As important as the concern about whether students recall and understand the information presented to them through testimonies, is their beliefs and attitudes about the topic at hand. This issue is especially important when the material is of social and historical consequence, and a goal of the class is providing students with the ability to think critically and sociologically. Understanding the role of testimonies in accomplishing these goals is the topic to which we now turn in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: What did they think? Participants' perspectives and opinions

In addition to determining what participants could remember and understand from my presentation, I endeavored to gather their opinions about its content. The surveys included questions about a variety of issues relevant to the Japanese in WWII, as well as to more contemporary controversies concerning rights, protections and freedoms in a post-9/11 America. The instrument ends with two straightforward questions about the efficacy and ethics of interning the Japanese as a national defense strategy.

As discussed in Chapter 4, feedback from interview respondents suggests that the subject of Japanese internment receives little attention within history lessons on WWII in America today. Most interviewees knew of the topic, but few seemed to have more than a superficial understanding of what happened, and to whom. My hope was to provide a thorough overview of the social and political landscape that enabled internment, and a detailed exposé of life inside the camps to stand as a contrast to the War Relocation Authority's newsreel. I concluded with a post-script of sorts, about life for the Japanese after release from the camps, the survivors' campaign for redress, and the US government's eventual response. Presentations to those in the Video Group and Written Group also included testimonies from camp survivors who articulated their feelings about racism, deprivation, loss, and longing. My in-depth conversations with a subset of participants from each treatment group helped me gain insight about their survey question answers, aspects of their backgrounds that influenced their beliefs

relevant to this study, and how, if at all, the presentation—and especially the survivor narratives—might have influenced their views.

Beyond determining their opinions, another goal of this study was to test participants' ability to think sociologically. Social theorist C. Wright Mills ([1959] 2000) advocated for a "sociological imagination" that reflects the ability to recognize the influence of social structures and historical events on the narratives of individual lives. While it may be untenable to measure a concept as nebulous as a sociological imagination *in toto*, it is worthwhile to evaluate the data for evidence of this kind of awareness, especially in college students studying sociology. More pertinent to a project of this nature, do the data suggest that the presentation influenced participants' ability to view an event like Japanese internment with a sociological lens? Did the testimonies help activate this kind of thinking? Before turning to participants' opinions, I will first address my findings as they pertain to these questions.

Evidence of a sociological perspective

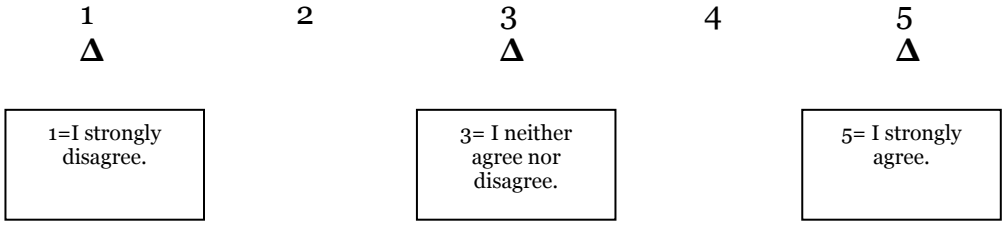
Structure versus agency

The first part of my survey included questions striving to operationalize the sociological imagination. Specifically, I wanted to determine if a participant was more likely to attribute life circumstances to larger social forces (structure) or to

the individual's own behavior (agency). The first and second questions on the survey asked about effort relative to success, and the influence of historical events on the individual, respectively. While they are similar conceptually, the questions were not combined into an index because a reliability test yielded a very small Cronbach's alpha value, so they were instead analyzed individually.

Survey Question 1

America is a land of opportunity in which any person can achieve success, so long as he or she works hard enough.
Circle one number.



Since higher scores on this scale indicate a higher level of agreement—and a belief that the individual is largely in control of his/her own destiny—higher scores suggest a looser grasp on sociological principles. I reversed the coding of the variable before statistical analysis for the sake of ease of interpretation and consistency with similar questions. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate that after the presentation, the majority (albeit a small majority) of participants continued to agree that in America, a person can more or less determine their own chances for success through individual effort.

Table 5.1: Frequency Report for Question 1, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	10	4.7	4.7	4.7
	2.00	**82**	**38.3**	**38.3**	**43.0**
	3.00	52	24.3	24.3	67.3
	4.00	46	21.5	21.5	88.8
	5.00	24	11.2	11.2	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.2: Frequency Report for Question 1, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	11	5.1	5.1	5.1
	2.00	**71**	**33.2**	**33.2**	**38.3**
	3.00	52	24.3	24.3	62.6
	4.00	53	24.8	24.8	87.4
	5.00	27	12.6	12.6	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.3 below reveals that the variables are normally distril

Table 5.3: Statistics for Question 1, Pre- and Post-test

		Q1_W1trans	Q1_W2trans
N	Valid	214	214
	Missing	0	0
Skewness		.363	.181
Std. Error of Skewness		.166	.166

Ordinary Least Squares regression revealed that for every one unit increase in the pre-test response to the same question, participants responses increased ~.75 of one unit in the post-test question. Because the B coefficient is positive but less

than 1, as participants' scores increased (in this case, showed a greater sociological awareness, because the codes were reversed), they did so at a smaller rate. This suggests that those whose answers on Question 1 in the pre-test exhibited a keener sociological awareness changed less than those whose answers did not. So the presentation, in all its forms, made a bigger impression on those with a looser grasp of sociological principles.

Table 5.4 below also shows that being female (as opposed to male) corresponded to a .336 increase in the post-test response for this question, and that being an upperclassman (as opposed to an underclassman) corresponded to a .292 increase in the post-test response for this question. Using this question as a measure, women and older students had a firmer grasp on sociological principles. Perhaps living in a society in which gender discrimination still exists (e.g., men often earn more than women for the same jobs) influenced females' opinion on this question.[80] Older college students likely learned over time that forces beyond one's motivation and skill factor into performance outcomes.

[80] See The Gender Wage Gap Fact Sheet IWPR #C350 September 2011 Institute for Women's Policy Research at http://www.iwpr.org.

Table 5.4: Coefficients[a] for OLS Regression Model, Question 1 and Independent Variables

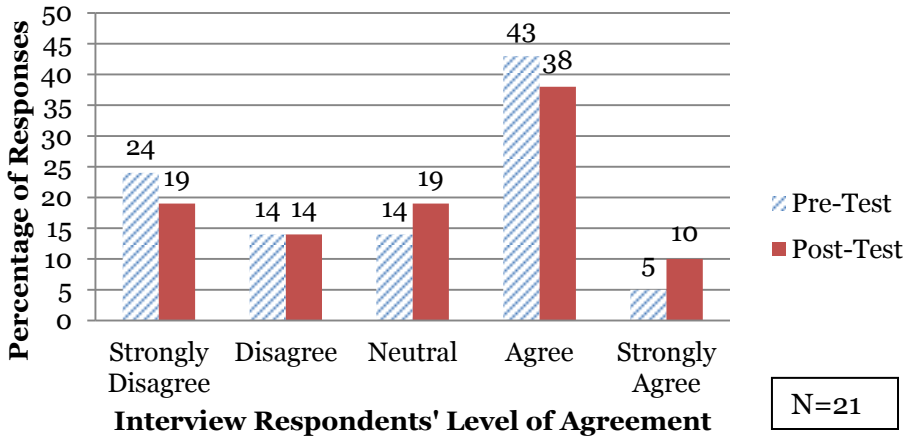
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.199	.268		4.477	.000
	Q1_W1trans	**.754**	**.047**	**.739**	**16.070**	**.000**
	VidGroup	-.008	.135	-.004	-.060	.952
	WritGroup	.189	.142	.081	1.329	.185
	racetrans	-.078	.128	-.028	-.609	.543
	males	**-.336**	**.106**	**-.141**	**-3.179**	**.002**
	schooltrans	-.138	.154	-.043	-.898	.370
	upperandlower	**-.292**	**.111**	**-.129**	**-2.625**	**.009**

a. Dependent Variable: Q1_W2trans

Interview respondents' opinions about an individual's chances for success in America

Data from the interview respondents provide a closer look at responses to this question.

Figure 5.1: Interviewees' Response to Question 1, "America is the land of opportunity...."



As the figure above illustrates, the interview group's responses to Question 1 do not differ markedly from the larger sample; most agree that with effort, virtually anyone can achieve success. I only spoke with two interviewees about their responses to this question, which were on opposite ends of the spectrum.

Evan (Control Group), who "strongly disagreed" in both the pre-and post-test that America is the land of equal opportunity, describes the path to success instead as "a lot of back-door handshaking." He mentioned that the topic was discussed in the sociology class in which I visited to give my presentation, and his comments were insightful in several ways.[81] First, he was able to relate the concept to his own life. "I'm by no stretch rich but being in New Jersey, in [names his county], it's a very affluent area, and just the connections I've gained from living there. I know CEO's, I know directors, I know people that were able to get me interviews. At least in business, knowing someone is so much more important than any credential you could have." After describing why he thought perhaps China, and not the US, should be described as the land of opportunity, he pointed out the ethnocentrism inherent in the question's phrase: "When you say 'land of opportunities,' you imply that America is the end all, be all, place to go if you want to have opportunity. It doesn't specifically say we are the only one, but it's implied." Lastly, he took this time to speculate as to why the Japanese were

[81] Evan was in Professor Ted Gaiser's class, *Technology and Society*.

interned.[82] “I think the largest reason that this was allowed to happen was [the] numbers at the end of the day. The Japanese were much fewer [in] numbers than the German population in the United States at the time. And that was a product of, I can't remember the act anymore, but there was an act…[that]…prevented Japanese citizens from entering America, so that made it easy.” At another point in the interview, as a defensive counterpoint to his negative comments about the economic consequences of illegal immigration, he conceded that he is “all about the American dream” and says he was “privileged” to be adopted from Korea into an American family at six months of age. When we discussed why he disagreed with providing the protections of the Constitution to non-citizens, he explained that “you pay taxes for the protection of the government, right. That's why you pay into the government, um, you vote for your protections…your liberties…I just don't feel that the government should pander to an audience that it doesn't have any obligation to. I feel like the government’s obligation is to its citizens foremost… ” He reasoned that non-citizens have “the option to go back to their respective countries. I understand many people are here, um I gained citizenship myself, I wasn't born in the United States, but um, there's avenues to go if that's where you want to go and if not, there's other alternatives.” This answer implies an assumption that a) every non-citizen within the US is an aspiring citizen; b) that returning to one’s country of origin is a simple prerogative and c) he is

[82] He offered his thoughts here, though all respondents were asked about mass internment as a separate question during their interview.

viewing government protections as a function of monetary exchange—not a human right.

Dylan (Video Group), the daughter of a Cuban immigrant who found success in America through the real estate industry, had a completely different take on the question. She chose 4, “agree,” in both the pre- and post-test. While acknowledging that “obviously some people are afforded more opportunities than others earlier in life,” she went on to sketch out her father’s rags-to-riches story and used it to substantiate her belief that success is largely a matter of gumption, even though she realizes his success earned her a more privileged upbringing.

> Dylan: …but I mean, everyone has access to an education…I mean, you really just can't compare it with any other country. I mean, I might be biased just because of my father's situation, and I realize that he is a unique situation.
>
> Susan: Can you tell me more?
>
> Dylan: My father's an immigrant from Cuba. And when Castro came to power, first my grandparents came over just to see what was going on over here, my [father] stayed behind with his brother and then when he was 11, he came over to the United States. And he lived in Brooklyn, they lived in a tenement, there were like 20 of 'em living in a two-bedroom…and my father and my grandmother worked in a sweat shop making pillows and…then my dad…he went to school, and then he ended up going to college, he went to John J in the city, and then…he had a million odd jobs before that, I can't go through all of them, A&P whatever, odd jobs, but eventually he went on to Baruch, which is also a CUNY school, in New York…I think he got his masters in education and then he worked in a high school in Brooklyn, and then he stumbled upon real estate and he bought this run-down apartment building and basically fixed it up himself, started renting out apartments, and however many years later, let's see, he's 62 now, so like, 40 years later, I mean, he has his own real estate company and I mean he did very well for himself….

> I don't know, as I said, he is exceptional in a lot of ways. But…because of where he got, I was obviously afforded a lot more opportunities than he was earlier in life, I mean I'm at Boston College…. It's like 75% or more than that percent at BC are on some kind of scholarship.[83] I mean there are possibilities, BC is obviously not as diverse as other schools, and I get that, but, nonetheless there are people from a lot of different backgrounds. I mean, state school, you can go there for free and it's a college education, and…I don't know, that's obviously a really hard debate to have, why some people are able to get some place and some people aren't, um, but, I don't know, I just think that we do provide, or the United States does provide, its citizens with so much opportunity….

Dylan is clearly aware she is wading into contentious territory in her comments, and seems to want to avoid making an outright connection between effort and success, but her opinion is unmistakable.

Identifying the "Push and Shove" of History[84]

The second survey question asked participants to consider the extent to which major historical events in the 50 years prior to their birth impacted their individual life.

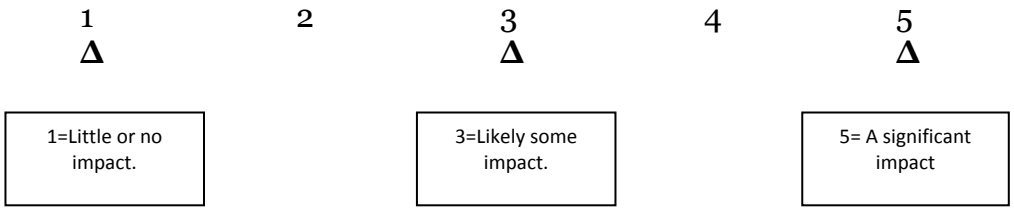
Question 2

Major historical events in the 50 years before my birth—such as WWII, the discovery of AIDS, the Civil Rights movement, or the

[83] Her assumptions about the Boston College student body are incorrect. Robert Lay, Ph.D., dean of Enrollment Management at Boston College, verified that 55% of BC undergraduates pay full tuition without scholarship assistance, while 45% receive scholarship support in the form of grants from the university or outside sources (personal communication, January 18, 2012). The average need-based scholarship or grant amount in 2010, the year of Dylan's interview, was $26,556. Tuition and board that year totaled $43,070, and housing costs were between ~$7300 and ~$9800—significantly more than the average scholarship amount. Data from the Boston College Fact Book, page 78. See http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/publications/factbook/pdf/11_12/11-12_fact_book.pdf.

[84] From page 6 in Mills, C. Wright. (1959 [2000]) The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press.

invention of the personal computer—have had an impact on my individual life, and the person I am today, that is best described as…
Circle one number.



A higher score signals a greater understanding of how historical events and personal biographies intersect, and thus suggests a better grasp of sociological principles.

Table 5.5: Frequency Table for Question 2, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	little or no impact	2	.9	.9	.9
	lesser impact	3	1.4	1.4	2.3
	likely some impact	45	21.0	21.0	23.4
	had impact	68	31.8	31.8	55.1
	a significant impact	**96**	**44.9**	**44.9**	**100.0**
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.6: Frequency Table for Question 2, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	lesser impact	3	1.4	1.4	1.4
	likely some impact	41	19.2	19.2	20.6
	had impact	76	35.5	35.5	56.1
	a significant impact	**94**	**43.9**	**43.9**	**100.0**
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.7: Statistics

		History_1	History_2
N	Valid	214	214
	Missing	0	0
Skewness		-.828	-.584
Std. Error of Skewness		.166	.166

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 above indicate that nearly half of the participants believe that historical events play a big role in the life of an individual. The percentage of students who believe historical events to have a significant impact decreased

slightly after the presentation, though in the post-test, no participant claimed that these events had "little or no impact." Perhaps the black and white photos and historical context of the presentation (and for the Video Group, interviews with elderly survivors) made the phenomenon under study seem that much further in the past, causing a few participants to consider that events that occurred more than six decades ago were *too* far in the past to impact their own life.

Since the variables are skewed, as evidenced in Table 5.7 above, I transformed the variables before statistical analysis to consolidate the responses with the least amount of cases ("little or no impact," "some impact," and "likely some impact" = 0) and gave "had impact" a value of 1 and "a significant impact" a value of 2.

Multinominal Logistic Regression revealed that those whose response to the history question in the pre-test was 0 (historical events had "little or no impact," "some impact," or "likely some impact") were more likely than those who chose 2 ("significant impact") to choose 0 again or 1 ("had impact") vs. 2, ("significant impact") on the outcome. Those whose response to the history question in the pre-test was 1 ("had impact") were more likely than those who chose 2 ("significant impact") to choose 1 again (vs. 2, "significant impact") on the outcome. So, the presentation had a greater impact on those who did not believe

that historical events play a significant role in the lives of contemporary individuals. See Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Parameter Estimates

Q2_W2trans[a]		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
								Lower Bound	Upper Bound
0	Intercept	-23.042	1.339	296.003	1	.000			
	[Q2_W1trans=0]	**26.051**	**1.248**	**435.973**	**1**	**.000**	2.059E11	1.785E10	2.375E12
	[Q2_W1trans=1]	21.747	.000	.	1	.	2.782E9	2.782E9	2.782E9
	[Q2_W1trans=2]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[racetrans=.00]	-1.743	.963	3.278	1	.070	.175	.027	1.155
	[racetrans=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[schooltrans=.00]	1.536	1.103	1.940	1	.164	4.648	.535	40.377
	[schooltrans=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[upperandlower=.00]	.033	.885	.001	1	.971	1.033	.182	5.860
	[upperandlower=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[males=.00]	.613	.776	.625	1	.429	1.846	.404	8.443
	[males=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[writgroup=0]	.197	1.114	.031	1	.860	1.218	.137	10.813
	[writgroup=1]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[vidgroup=0]	.925	1.044	.785	1	.376	2.522	.326	19.518
	[vidgroup=1]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
1	Intercept	-3.988	.999	15.924	1	.000			
	[Q2_W1trans=0]	**4.810**	**1.200**	**16.063**	**1**	**.000**	122.731	11.679	1289.746
	[Q2_W1trans=1]	**4.184**	**.569**	**53.996**	**1**	**.000**	65.597	21.492	200.214
	[Q2_W1trans=2]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[racetrans=.00]	-.619	.619	1.001	1	.317	.538	.160	1.810
	[racetrans=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[schooltrans=.00]	.951	.816	1.357	1	.244	2.587	.523	12.806
	[schooltrans=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[upperandlower=.00]	.588	.559	1.105	1	.293	1.800	.602	5.380
	[upperandlower=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[males=.00]	.582	.531	1.201	1	.273	1.790	.632	5.068
	[males=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[writgroup=0]	.824	.705	1.364	1	.243	2.279	.572	9.082
	[writgroup=1]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.
	[vidgroup=0]	1.003	.675	2.205	1	.138	2.727	.726	10.247
	[vidgroup=1]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.	.	.

a. The reference category is: 2.
b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Interview respondents' understanding of the influence of major historical events on their lives

Interview respondents' answers to Question 2 did not differ between pre- and post-tests, so both are represented in the pie chart below.

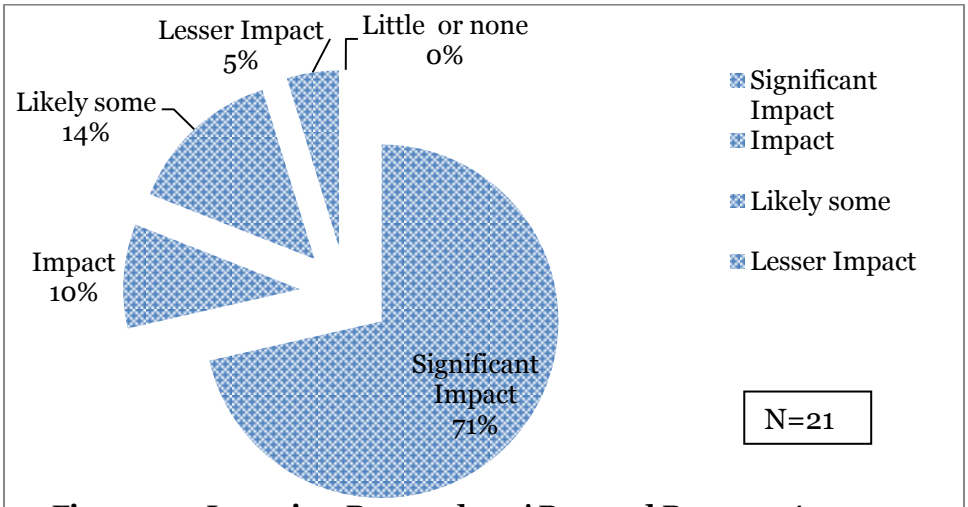


Figure 5.2: Interview Respondents' Pre- and Post-test Answers, Question 2

Unlike the larger sample, the interview group was less dispersed over the responses, with almost three-quarters believing both before and after the presentation that historical events of the last 50 years had a "significant impact" on their personal life trajectories. Only Evan (Control Group) believed that historical events had a "lesser impact" on his life personally.

None of the respondents were asked to comment directly on this question in the interview. However, analysis of the data revealed awareness of the impact of

larger events on their lives in many conversations, often those pertaining to influences on their general beliefs and personal experiences that shaped their attitudes about topics related to this study. In fact, their conversations brought Avery Gordon's *Ghostly Matters* to mind. The "ghosts" of several specific historical events "haunted" the telling of their experiences, and the opinions they formed in response those experiences. As the following discussion will demonstrate, I was surprised that some respondents' awareness co-existed with intolerant attitudes that surfaced in other areas of their interview. So their awareness did not seem to penetrate their consciousness fully, to influence their attitudes across all issues relevant to this study that we discussed.

World War II

Jane, Marcel, and Ethel, all members of the Control Group, spoke of ancestors who were victimized during WWII. Jane had relatives imprisoned in Nazi camps, and had read a book authored by one of them. She claimed that this knowledge makes her "more passionate" about the topic of internment and more empathetic to the Japanese, yet, she maintained the belief that internment made America safer, and was "problematic but necessary" both before and after the presentation.

Marcel's adoptive mother and grandmother (ethnically Chinese) faced racism after the Pearl Harbor attacks. Immediately following this admission, he went on

to describe racism he experienced and his own racial identity in light of his multicultural upbringing. He then said:

> I guess even though, like I said, I don't really affiliate myself with a certain type of people, I can definitely see the pain. Or in my mind I can see the pain I guess that my grandmother and mother experienced following Pearl Harbor. And even then, I mean to a lot of Caucasians, I feel like the anger, the built-up anger…a lot of people don't even know the difference between Japanese and a Korean or a Chinese person. So I'd be like, back then it was a little bit more, I mean, even more tense after that, it seems.

While his words are a bit jumbled at the end of his remarks, he seems to be expressing empathy for both the victims *and* perpetrators of racism in this comment.[85] At other points in the interview, he expressed very mixed feelings about the country's response to 9/11, at turns describing his own blended background and not wanting to be taken for someone who would side with (North) Korea in a conflict, and then advocating for the sublimation of individual rights for the protection of the greater community.

Ethel's family background seemed to create a complicated backdrop for her experience of my presentation. Her parents emigrated from Korea to America. She said several times that her culture discourages dwelling on, or even discussing, negative experiences, and that she did not have a lot of information about what happened to her family in WWII. At times I had difficulty discerning the generation to which her stories referred, but she made clear that her ancestors suffered at the hands of the Japanese during their occupation of Korea

[85] See chapter 6 for more discussion of perspective-taking among interview respondents.

during the war. She noted, "my grandparents all know how to speak Japanese because…Japan took over Korea at that time in the World War II era…. They were forced to like assimilate into Japanese culture…it comes out little by little." She commented on her particular interest in the Holocaust and its relative weight versus Japanese internment in school curriculum, and noted, "my dad told me all the time, 'You should hear what the Japanese people [did] to like the Koreans. They were called 'comfort women' and 'your great, great grandmother went through this and this.'" She offered this information in part to help me understand why her focal point of interest (the Holocaust) differs from that of her father's interest in the war, but also noted that her perspective is different because she grew up in America.

When I ask Ethel how the presentation resonated with her, in light of her background, she too, has a mixed reaction, in which her own racial identity is implicated.

> Ethel: I guess, to be honest, like, you know, Japanese and Koreans have bad blood between them just because like Japanese, you know, took over Korea and the cut throat…. My dad tells me all the time like we don't even know how bad the Japanese treated the Koreans. So at first, like, even though [I'm] joking around like, 'Oh, those Japanese, like, we don't like them really.' You know?
>
> Susan: Yeah.
>
> Ethel: Just like what the Irish and the—no Turkish and Greece like that kind of stuff.[86] So, I don't know, and I sometimes forget I'm Asian so—because I've always grown up in like all-white communities. So when I saw like the Japanese whatever—this is about Japanese encampment like at first—like, you know, I felt my heartstrings get pulled a little bit, but then I'm like, 'Oh.' It seemed

[86] I wondered here if she meant to say Turkey and *Armenia*.

> separated from me, but then I learned a little bit more about it and I was like, 'Oh maybe it does relate to my life a little bit.'

So the presentation helped her move past an emotional block due in part to her family's complicated history with the Japanese.[87]

Other students discussed grandparents who served in the war, or lived through the war era. Evan has a great uncle who was wounded in WWII and spoke briefly of information he gleaned from his grandparents ("…they said things like, you know, we had our own gardens, the entire country was just, it completely changed. People were growing their own food so they'd be more food to send to the soldiers.") These stories contributed to his emotional reaction to the presentation (discussed in Chapter 6), giving him information to balance out his initial response of "kind of outraged" and reason that "it was a crazy time." Bonnie (Video Group) and Scarlet (Written Group) have grandparents who served in the military during WWII, which affected their outlooks in different ways. The stories Bonnie heard from her grandfather, a career military man, taught her to refrain from prejudice:

> …[H]e's always said when you go to those places, it's not the people, it's the government. So that's kind of like my philosophy, like not judging people based on where they come from because it's never the people, it's usually the government's influence and my papa always would strongly tell us about that and tell us about the great times he would have with the local people, even though he was in

[87] At another point in the interview, she reveals that photos and learning about those whose occupational trajectory were similar to her parents helped her identify with the Japanese internees. This is discussed more in Chapters 4 and 6.

> their country fighting their government, that he would still have a good time with those people.

Both of Scarlet's grandfathers served in WWII, went on to be public servants, and instilled in their children and grandchildren a respect for government. "If you were not paying attention during the national anthem at a football game, ohhhhh my goodness, you had done the worst thing. Anything patriotic, you were in trouble for not being patriotic with it or whatever…. So I guess that kind of has instilled in me this, 'you know, the government's lookin' out for us, they're good folks, ultimately.'" She also projected this mindset onto American citizens. When asked about their culpability for internment, saying, in part, "the impression I get of that time was like, people just kind of put faith that the government was going to do what they had to do, so I guess, when the government came in and said, this is what we're doing, people were like, 'Ok, you know, they know what they're doing.'"[88] Not surprisingly, she was among those respondents who felt that government wire-tapping is acceptable when the issue was discussed in her interview. After the presentation, she agreed that America was safer due to internment, moving from a neutral answer of 3 to a 4, and maintained her belief that internment was "problematic but necessary." In contrast, Bonnie, when asked about future behavior, said she would be more likely to question the government if a policy such as internment should be on the horizon again.

[88] Respondents' opinions of the culpability of American citizens will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The Cold War

In addition to having grandparents directly oppressed by the Japanese during WWII, Ethel (Control Group) also said that both of her grandfathers experienced the Cold War while growing up in Korea but as before, did not know too much about their experiences.[89]

Dylan (Video Group) seemed aware that one's historical location shapes their worldview. After explaining some of the conditions that she believes fostered her parents' racism, she reasoned, "I think I really couldn't get that for a long time…'cause I grew up in a totally different time in a totally different environment and totally different situations…." She also knew that her own views were strongly influenced by her family's experiences in Communist Cuba and as immigrants in America. When asked if her or her family's background influenced her reaction to the presentation, she said:

> …I think I'm really grateful for the liberties we are afforded here and um the freedoms that we have, just because as I said I know that you are not going to find that in other parts of the world and I think, I mean, and my own family history. I have one uncle who would have killed to be in a US prison because Castro put him in a cave, you know? And it's like, you have to really look at situations with a comparative lens I think. You really do need to look at what's going on in other parts of the world, you know, you step back and be thankful things are the way they are. And you can always criticize something, you can always criticize how the government works or you know, the policies that it puts in place and they should be criticized. We should all look at things with a critical eye. I'm not saying that it should be [a] magic bullet theory and just kind of, anything the government says, you know, we understand it as they

[89] Specifically, she said, "both my grandpas were involved in like the Cold War, I guess like the Korean War, so like when they were young growing up, you know, they experienced it."

> intend it to. At the same time, people just sort of forget where they are, and they forget how lucky they are. So, yeah I definitely think that it's important to look at things critically, but at the same time just sort of be thankful in a sense and kind of remember.

Much like Evan (as described in Chapter 4) Dylan, at two other points, urged for tolerance of America's approach to national security by citing the [harsher] policies of other countries. In discussing whether or not a person detained by the US government but later found innocent should be entitled to an apology, she said:

> …knowing how other countries deal with prisoners and deal with the quote enemy, I mean you get thrown into a Mexican prison, like you're not getting out of there. And that's like most countries. And I just think that people are so quick to um, to judge our policies and like, just you know, this is so immoral, blah blah blah, people have rights, but it's like, but if you compare it with anywhere else in the world, it's like, there's no comparison.

When asked about her survey response to the question on racial profiling (I reminded her that she had gone from "agree" on the pre-test to "it depends" on the post-test), she said, "No, I agree. I agree." While acknowledging the difficulty of supporting such a view, she used several points to support her opinion (demographic characteristics of terrorists, the recent Times Square bombing attempt, and her opinion that a person "supportive" of America should not mind some inconvenience, etc.) and added, "if I went to some Middle Eastern country, I mean, they would do a lot {laughs, almost sounds embarrassed} more than that I think…I think when you compare it with how other countries treat the enemy, I really don't think it's a big deal." Her comments did make clear she supported

measures that were more or less inconveniences (such as bag-checking at airports) as opposed to more active, intrusive measures like traffic stops for minorities.

American Civil Rights Movement

One student mentioned the Civil Rights Movement directly. Crystal, a mixed-race student in the Written Group, grew up listening to her grandfather's stories, and cited them as an influence on her beliefs:

> In my head I did do a lot of relating to the Civil Rights Movement, 'cause my grandfather, he's 77, and he lived through it, so he talks about it like, all the time. {laughs} So I knew a lot of information from [a] first-person view, and I just, that's another reason that it had such an effect on me, or that it was able to have such an effect on me, because I know someone that went through something, I don't want to say too similar, but something that can be um similar. And, I would just, it's mostly, it's all, anything I can think of, in my mind that I can recall is all based on race relations and being discriminated [against] myself or watching someone being discriminated against. Definitely.

Yet, in spite of this exposure, and her own encounters with racism (discussed more below), she voiced unexpected opinions. Both before and after the presentation, she was against racial profiling, yet continued to believe that internment was "basically right but implemented wrongly."

Though they did not frame their remarks as opinions about civil rights, three interviewees (two white students and one biracial student who characterized herself as white) brought up slavery when asked to discuss entitlements for those

imprisoned by the US government but later found innocent. They seemed unable to see how a structural inequality so far back in history could continue to resonate in material consequences for the descendants of victims. Dylan (Video Group), who spoke at another point in the interview about her struggle to accept her parents' racism, returned again to her family's experiences in Cuba and in America and essentially equalized various forms of historical oppression to rationalize her opinion. "[B]eyond apology, I know that, you know, seems inadequate, but, I don't really believe in reparations at all, like financial reparations, I don't believe in at all. And that's you know with, with everything, not just in this particular case…." When asked why, she explained:

> I mean the people who would be compensated now, so like ancestors of let's say slaves…I mean yes, their ancestors were affected, but I think most of the people in the United States can say that they have ancestors who went through similar things. I mean…in every country, people face persecution. And people face hardship, and so, while something like, you know, slavery was, I mean, it's obviously an exaggerated form of what I'm talking about, but even so, I mean, I don't think, I dunno, I don't think financial compensation would really do anything, I mean just giving money to people?… I mean my family, you know faced persecution in Cuba and like my dad came here and had literally nothing and I mean he did what he had to do to become successful, and I don't think a government hand-out was in order at all…. Giving someone whose grandmother was a slave or whose grandmother was interned or whose grandmother went through whatever, I don't really understand how that makes sense at all.

Chris (Written Group) switched his answer for Question 10b, regarding an official apology to someone who was wrongly detained by the US government, from "it depends" in the pre-test to "agree" in the post-test. He explained that a

government apology should be situationally dependent, and is appropriate in severe situations, such as when a detainee is hurt while in detention. Yet when asked in the interview if the government should be accountable to a person they wronged, he seemed dismissive of the idea, and used slavery as an example:

> Chris: As like penalties or anything like that?
>
> Susan: Or just anything. Any response at all, if the government, in such an instance....
>
> Chris: Like an apology or.... I mean...do you expect someone to come out and apologize for Thomas Jefferson owning slaves now? I don't know, it happened in that moment, and it doesn't make it right, 'cause I don't agree with it, but like, do you want someone to come out like 20 years later and be like, they handled the situation wrong, I'm trying to think who was president then was...
>
> Susan: During internment? FDR.
>
> Chris: Does FDR come out after...well, I guess he got sick and died. Does Truman come out and say FDR handled this wrong, I don't know, but, either way I think we learned a valuable lesson, or should have at least, but I don't know if it should be in a formal apology.

At another point in the interview, he claimed that "hindsight is 20-20" when discussing the government's decision to intern.[90]

When asked about government accountability to a person wrongly imprisoned, Scarlet, a Mississippi native in the Written Group, said she had discussed the issue of slavery in a sociology class. We had the following exchange about her opinion:

[90] Chris's response will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

> Scarlet: I mean I think a public apology is good face but I don't think that really changes anything um and then as far as like, making kind of like reparation, or anything like that, I mean I feel like it's a good gesture, and there's nothing wrong with that gesture, but as far as, that doesn't change what you did, that doesn't change you know the fact that you did all this. Um, I think the most that the government can really do is say, 'we hope that you'll forgive us' and I don't think it can be treated as a mass issue, I think it's each individual person, either they have let it go or they haven't. It can't be some mass, 'ok we're going to apologize to all Japanese Americans and give you all this reparation or do this all for you or give you these college scholarships,' you know, I think it, because not all of them are mad about it anymore, not all of them are gonna forgive you ever. You could give them a million dollars every two weeks and they're still going to be mad about it. And so I feel like…
>
> Susan: So then they shouldn't maybe not do those things or?
>
> Scarlet: Um, I don't know, um…
>
> Susan: It's hard to say.
>
> Scarlet: It is. Um, because it's definitely a good thing to say, well yeah, we messed up and so if you can show us that you're a descendent of this, you won't have to pay to go to college, that's how we'll make it up to you, um, but how far does that go? Um, you know, 30 you know years from now, are you still going to have people that we're paying for them to go to college because…whatever, and then 30 years from that, or…so…I dunno.

In that conversation, she seems to reduce the issue to appeasing victims' anger (and she seems to be unaware here that the Japanese were awarded monetary damages and an apology, although this was discussed in the presentation). Yet on Question 10c, regarding financial compensation for those wrongly imprisoned, the presentation changed her mind. In the pre-test, she disagreed that they should be awarded financial compensation, but changed her answer to "it depends" after the presentation, explaining that "at first I was just like, you know

no amount of money you give somebody, you give someone. is going to make them feel any better. But I think especially with their homes and stores being broken into whatever, I was like, you know, those people could really use some financial compensation." Learning about the material consequences of internment seemed to influence her opinion.

Unearthing the "'public issues of social structure'" in personal stories[91]

Race and Racism

All participants were asked in the survey to give their opinion of racial profiling, a topic central to the internment of the Japanese and a newsworthy controversy in the years following 9/11. The issue was particularly topical in the weeks prior to these interviews, because, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Arizona introduced legislation authorizing police officers making routine traffic stops to check for immigration status.

[91] From page 8 in Mills, C. Wright. (1959 [2000]) The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press.

Survey Question 9

The government should be able to consider people's racial/ethnic characteristics when determining whether to label them as "criminally suspicious." Circle one answer.

AGREE DISAGREE IT DEPENDS

As seen in Tables 5.9 and 5.10 below, the modal answer was 2,"disagree." Nearly 68% of participants disagreed with racial profiling before the presentation and this percentage moved up ~1% after the presentation. Approximately 5% fewer students agreed with racial profiling afterward, and the number who said "it depends" increased by approximately 4%.

Table 5.9: Frequency Table for Question 9, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	agree	28	13.1	13.1	13.1
	disagree	**145**	**67.8**	**67.8**	**80.8**
	it depends	41	19.2	19.2	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.10: Frequency Table for Question 9, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	agree	17	7.9	7.9	7.9
	disagree	**147**	**68.7**	**68.7**	**76.6**
	it depends	50	23.4	23.4	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

To run a regression analysis on this data, I transformed both the pre- and post-test variables for Question 9 into dichotomous variables where "disagree"=1, and "agree" and "it depends" = 0.

Table 5.11: Variables in the Equation

								95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	**Q9_W1trans**	**4.626**	**.549**	**70.985**	**1**	**.000**	**102.152**	**34.821**	**299.681**
	vidgroup	.646	.661	.955	1	.328	1.907	.523	6.961
	writgroup	-.431	.698	.381	1	.537	.650	.165	2.554
	racetrans	.024	.016	2.299	1	.129	1.024	.993	1.056
	males	-.850	.532	2.550	1	.110	.427	.151	1.213
	schooltrans	.195	.764	.065	1	.799	1.215	.272	5.435
	upperandlower	-.105	.555	.036	1	.850	.900	.303	2.671
	Constant	-1.735	.909	3.639	1	.056	.176		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Q9_W1trans, vidgroup, writgroup, racetrans, males, schooltrans, upperandlower.

Recall that a"1"in this test is "disagree with using race/ethnic traits to label someone criminally suspicious" and "0" is a response of EITHER "agree" or "it depends."

As Table 5.11 shows, regression analysis indicates that the pre- and post-test variables are highly correlated and that the pre-test is predictive of the post-test response. Disagreeing with racial profiling in the pre-test increased the odds that a participant would disagree in the post-test. Those who agreed or thought that

racial profiling should depend on the situation had greater changes in their responses after the presentation, and were thus more likely moved by it.

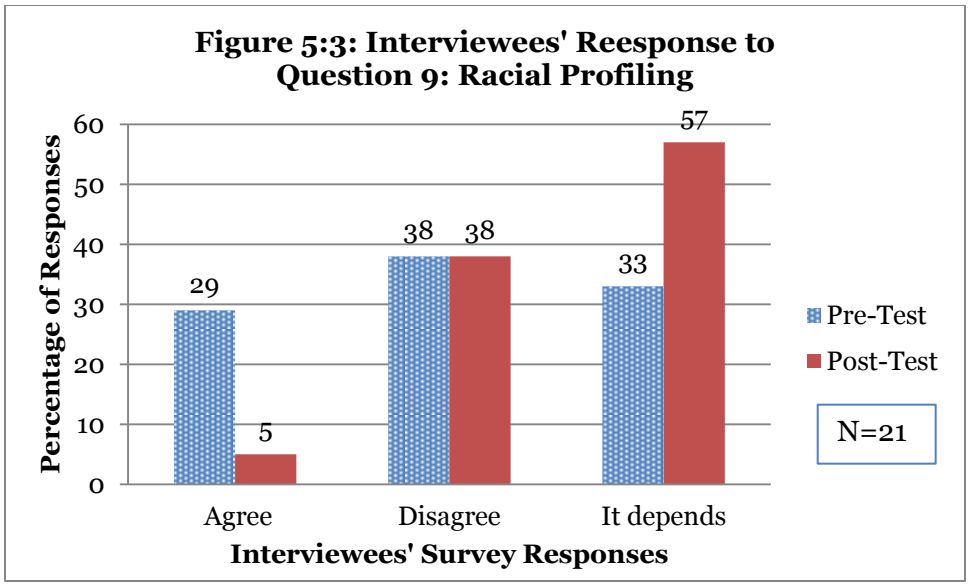
Discussions of race and racism in the interviews

Table 5.12 below shows how respondents answered Question 9 on the survey in the pre- and post-test. All answer-switchers moved to a less-agreeing position after the presentation.

Table 5.12: Interviewees' Responses Question 9, Racial Profiling				
	Pre-Test	**Post-Test**	**Change?**	**Direction**
Control				
Evan	Agree	It depends	Yes	Less agreeing
Marcel	It depends	Disagree	Yes	Less agreeing
Jane	Agree	It depends	Yes	Less agreeing
Gary	It depends	It depends		
Anne	It depends	It depends		
Ethel	It depends ("religious beliefs")	It depends		
Donny	Disagree	Disagree		
Video				
Gina	It depends	It depends		
Elle	Agree	It depends		Less agreeing
Pradeep	It depends	It depends		
Matt	Disagree	Disagree		
Liam	It depends	It depends		
Dylan	Agree	It depends	Yes	Less agreeing
Bonnie	Disagree	Disagree		
Written				
James	Disagree	Disagree		
Chris	Disagree	It depends	Yes	Less agreeing
Peter	Disagree	Disagree		
Scarlet	Agree	It depends	Yes	Less agreeing
Rina	Disagree	Disagree		
Crystal	Disagree	Disagree		
Alan	Agree	Agree		

Figure 5.3 below suggests that the presentation had a stronger effect on the subset of

participants who interviewed for the study. After the presentation, the percentage of those who agreed with racial profiling plummeted and the percentage of those who believed that the practice of racial profiling should be situationally dependent rose significantly.



I asked some respondents to discuss their answers on this survey question (especially if their answers changed from pre- to post-test), and then asked a general question about having different procedures at high-risk areas for those who happen to share traits (appearance, surname, etc.) with a group considered to be an enemy of America. I often asked them to consider the situation if they were part of group deemed suspicious. Seven interview respondents changed their survey answers from pre- to post-test and all moved in less-agreeing direction after the presentation (with the changers moving from "agree" to "it depends"). When discussing with Elle (Video Group) her change from "I agree" to "It depends" after the presentation, she said, "it was probably just seeing what happened with the Japanese and seeing how wrong we were to do that. And so, I'm sure that affected, seeing an example and being emotionally impacted by that." But she framed the issue in a more current and specific locus when asked

more generally about racial profiling. Like others, she offered her opinions with an acknowledgement that her statements were perhaps not politically correct:

> Elle: I mean I think it's necessary. Again, I don't want to *say* that it's necessary, but I think it is, to some extent. I think it's important to scr—like in high-risk areas it's important to certainly select individuals who don't look like that and make sure they're screened, too, but um, I mean I don't think it's wrong to choose a higher percentage of people who we're worried about at that time.
>
> Susan: Do you think their citizenship matters in that scenario?
>
> Elle: Yeah, I mean yeah, I think definitely, it does matter and I think certainly a higher percentage of people without US citizenship should, should be screened in those situations, but you know, certainly American citizens can attack, too, so, I don't know.
>
> Susan: So it is acceptable if they are citizens but it's just more of a question of what percentage, how it's broken down?
>
> Elle: Sure.

Since Elle's data sheet indicated that she is a Methodist, I asked her to imagine a scenario in which the government might, after an attack on the country by a Methodist, need to compile a list of everyone who professes that faith. She said, "I don't think that's acceptable, because…that's going out and targeting people" and then began discussing the recent legislation in Arizona allowing police officers to check for immigration status in traffic stops. "I don't think it's wrong to ask people who look Mexican to see their information, so long as at least a few times they do it other people, too." She felt that an action like list-keeping was more active and therefore, unacceptable, while of airport screening and the

aforementioned immigration-check traffic stops, she said, “it’s still not OK, but it happens and I think it’s necessary.”

Twelve of the thirteen white interviewees spoke about racial profiling in direct conversations about the topic (the subject also came up at times in the course of discussing other issues of national security or personal experiences). Nine, or 75% of these, were in favor of racial profiling, and three, or 25% were not. As discussed in Chapter 4, many gave a “statistics show…” type of reasoning to support their belief in racial profiling, i.e., if a certain group is over-represented in a type of crime, it makes sense to racially profile that group. Four white students expressed approval for sublimating the rights of the individual for the safety of the group. Those who disagreed thought it came down to an issue of fairness. Peter (Written Group) gave the most nuanced answer: “I think that in America we should be just sort of like past race, not to say that it's not important, but it's just, it so dominates like every sort of cross-cultural conversation we have in this country, that the idea of labeling, sort of, to begin with, that seems arbitrary and that seems open to being like wrong, based on race.”

Not surprisingly, the most interesting conversations about race and racial profiling occurred with respondents of color. The interview sample included eight students of color—though as will be discussed below, racial identity was a troublesome issue for some. The chart below details how these students

described their race, ethnicity, and citizenship on their research participant data sheets.

Table 5.13 Race, ethnicity and citizenship as *described by interview respondent* on participant data sheet			
Name	**Race**	**Ethnicity**	**Citizenship**
Evan[92]	Asian	Italian	USA
Marcel	Asian	Asian American	USA and Switzerland
Ethel	Asian	Korean	US
Donny	Middle Eastern	Lebanese/Syrian	USA
Pradeep	Indian	American	America
Dylan	White	Cuban/American	USA
James	Latino/White	Mexican/Brazil/Belgium	Belgian/Mexican/Brazilian/U.S.A.
Crystal	(Biracial) African American, White, Asian, Native America	Cherokee, Navajo, Mongolian	U.S.A

"Even though I might look Asian, I feel a lot less Asian than you perceive me to be…" - Marcel

Four students had internalized racial identities that seemed at odds with externally-defined labels and expectations. Second, experiences of racism (all but two of the students of color had experience with some kind of racism) did not always predict opinions about internment.

Donny

[92]Both Evan and Marcel were adopted from Korea. Evan's adoptive parents are both Caucasian (Italian and German heritage, country of origin unclear, but seemed to be American). Marcel's adoptive mother is Chinese American and he described his adoptive father as "white Caucasian Swiss."

Donny (Control Group) is the son of a Syrian immigrant and listed "Middle Eastern" on his data sheet and not white.[93] When asked if he felt that Middle Eastern was a separate race from white, he explained,

"Um…{pause}…yeah…different ethnicity. We have our own culture and yeah our own music, our own foods, like, I….{pause}…yeah. {giggles}"

He attended a private religious school and acknowledged that he was teased due to his race in high school on a few occasions but it "wasn't like too harsh or anything." Both before and after the presentation, he chose "disagree" for the racial profiling survey question, which was consistent with other attitudes expressed through his survey responses and interview. For example, he volunteered that he is opposed to wire-tapping before I asked that question.

Dylan, Marcel and Ethel went to school in mostly white environments, and their comments reflect a kind of mental disconnect with regard to race, and ambivalence about issues regarding race in national security.

Marcel

Marcel (Control Group) was adopted from Korea into a multicultural family. He spent summers visiting his father's family, with whom he is close, in Switzerland, and his first language is French. He described being "the only Asian" in many settings at home and at BC, and said that most of his friends and all of his

[93] The US Census Bureau categorizes Americans of Middle Eastern origin as white.

girlfriends have been white, adding "I'm just not attracted to Asian girls." These factors led him to say, "I feel more white than Asian. And I feel more Swiss than I feel Korean." When asked about personal experiences that might have influenced how he responded to the presentation, he had this to say:

> Marcel: [L]et's just create a hypothetical situation, that North Korea goes to war with the United States. I could see that an everyday layman person from the United States…. I guess kind of like seeing me just because I'm Asian and affiliating me with North Korea. So I think that, I guess, stirred in some emotion of not only my past and my family, but also how it could be relevant today. How I may, just by the skin color and how I look, be, I guess, a judgment of who I am. Because I mean, I also feel like, here's another example…my roommate during my first semester at BC, he Facebooked my name before he even met me. And he saw this Asian kid. And he tells me this story, he always tells me this story. 'I saw that you were Asian, so I assumed that you were like wicked Asian and you didn't like, you know, you didn't like the other stuff.'
>
> Susan: 'Wicked Asian'?
>
> Marcel: Yeah, that's exactly what he said. And it's just like funny. And then he said, 'but then when I met you, I was just like, whoa.' So I feel like how you look definitely like affects that. So I feel like that was kind of relevant today because I could see myself in that situation of a forced person in, I guess detention, just because of how I look.

As discussed previously, his mother and grandmother faced discrimination after Pearl Harbor, his Middle Eastern friends experienced discrimination in the wake of 9/11, he, his sister and mother have had a different experience of airport security than his white father, and he has been the recipient of racist comments when visiting his sister at her Southern school.

On Question 9, he changed his answer from "it depends" to "disagree" with racially profiling after seeing the presentation. When I asked him about his answer switch, he revised his pre-test answer by saying, "That's interesting. I will stand corrected. I think it's 'disagree.'" He explained his reaction this way:

> I think it's also because I have a multi-cultured background and no one would expect that I'm Swiss and my first language is French. Like that's just weird.... I think it's hard to say because in the one sense, organizations such as Al Qaeda do like to recruit in the Middle East. So there is a greater chance that a person from the Middle East, I guess, would be Al-Qaeda, I guess, if you do the logic. But at the same time, me being adopted from Korea with Caucasian parents and having like a weird background, like it's kind of unfair for, like say something happened with Korea, to judge me because I'm Korean.... So...I do think it's unfair because someone might be Asian like I am and completely against what a certain group is doing but have no say. So like how can you really judge someone on the outside about their, I guess, interior beliefs.

Ethel

Ethel (Control Group) is the daughter of Korean immigrants who struggled economically in America. She used words like "traditional" or "stereotypical" often to describe herself and her family's conformity to Korean/Asian cultural norms. Yet, she said "my parents have changed a lot, like they're more Americanized. Like they haven't been back to Korea in twenty years and they don't really have Korean friends." And, as mentioned earlier, she said, "I sometimes forget I'm Asian" and explained that "now-a-days like I prefer not to hang out with the Koreans or the Asians just because I feel awkward around [them] too so I guess I'm like—not bias, but like prejudice against them now also." Coming to BC was "was a big culture shock for me because I think here a lot

of kids haven't been in a diverse school. I mean I was [in] culture shock, too by being [with] so many Asians all at once." She had had a negative experience with the Korean cultural group on campus, explaining:

> I went to [a] KSA [Korean Student Association] retreat and like they were talking about like discrimination and race. It makes you really angry at the world and like when you come back, you hate everyone. I was just like –like the little things, of course there's going to be little things, like everybody has prejudice in them. You react to people a certain way, but it comes out more like when you're a different race. So like after the retreat I'd just be like, 'Oh my god.' I thought my whole world was crashing because I only hang out with like Caucasian people so I don't like how they [Korean students], sort of, segregate themselves from the rest of the group and make their presence known.

She also shared some of her experiences of racism with me. She said that "growing up you get called Chinese a lot" or "you get called bad names and [people] just [will] be like, 'Oh, what, your mom does the nail salon or something.' You know, just stereotypes that little kids pick up and like…Or they're just like, 'oh something's so Asian, like [that's] something that you would definitely say.'" And she suggested that she has experienced "bullying here and there," even at BC, by saying that "I think here a lot of kids haven't been in a diverse school." One college experience surfaced as she contemplated why Americans allowed the government to intern their neighbors and friends:

> Ethel: Because even though they're nice on like—or they have a relationship with the Japanese or your neighbor who's Asian, still in the back of your mind, you know they're different. Because like it shocks me sometimes because I forget that I'm different from everyone else, like Asian descent, and like I went on to this service trip and this one girl–we were talking about race and I was like—we

were trying to live as humble as possible. It was just an eye-opening experience.

Susan: Sounds interesting.

Ethel: One girl in my small talk group, she goes, 'Oh, well me and Amanda are the same, but me and Ethel are different' meaning like the two Caucasian girls are the same and her and I were different. And like a father was there who was like our advisor and he's like, 'What are you talking about? You guys are all different, like I don't understand.' She's like, she couldn't explain herself. So she's a nice girl, and I don't think like she meant anything by it. But, so like it just shows like in the back of your mind you still have that, 'Oh she is different.'

Yet, in spite of these direct experiences with racism, Ethel continued to believe before and after the presentation that racial profiling should be situationally dependent. When asked about the practice in the interview, she acknowledged that "it's really hard to say, because of course you want to protect everyone. But, then again, if you're that person always having to go through that special procedure it gets a little old even when you know you're not doing [anything], right." In fact, her mother told her that a lot of Asians in their area do get pulled over by the police and have their citizenship checked.

Dylan

Dylan (Video Group) emphatically clarified (twice) that she is white. At one point she said, "I'm, I mean I'm both, I'm Cuban and I'm white. I- I consider white to be my race, and then I'm, but I'm, you know, like I'm not, I'm not black, I'm white….I mean, unless you want to get into like *caramel* {we both laugh} like I'm whi—my mom's white."

In spite of her perceived racial identity, Dylan is characterized as a minority student at BC, as was the case at her predominantly white prep school. We had a lengthy discussion about her opinion of the AHANA program, which centered on a realization her freshmen year that the school had a lower grade-point requirement to make the AHANA honor roll than the university-wide honor roll.[94] Insulted by the gap, she wrote a letter to the program and noticed the requirement increased the following year. "I think that's sort of demonstrative of how AHANA does tend to alienate people. I think that all of, there's sort of an AHANA culture or especially within each part of AHANA so like, for OLAA [Organization for Latin American Affairs], I'm still technically part of it [but] I'm not really as involved as I was…" She explained that "a lot of the kids who are really involved with those only hang out with whatever group that is…so I think in some ways it serves…its mission is to put everyone on an even playing field and to sort of unite everyone, but I think it does the opposite. So, I dunno. Those kind of politics are all screwed up."

When asked about factors that influenced her belief system in general, she launched into a long discussion about her parents' racism against Blacks, and her struggle to come to terms with it, especially in light of her present romantic relationship with an African American.

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[94] According to the university's web site, "AHANA is an acronym used to describe individuals of African-American, Hispanic, Asian and Native American descent." See http://www.bc.edu/content/bc/offices/ahana/about/history/def.html.

Yet, both before and after the interview, she supported the idea of racial profiling, though she acknowledged, as did Elle, that she was saying something politically incorrect. In fact, like Marcel, she corrected her survey response in our discussion, effectively "un-switching" her answer.

> Susan: Before the presentation you said, yes, I agree. After the presentation, you said it depends.
>
> Dylan: No, I agree. I agree.
>
> Susan: Ok {laughs a bit} ok.
>
> Dylan: Um, I agree, and I mean, you know this is such a touchy topic, which is why, and that's, people generally don't like to have that conversation, because it makes things awkward, but, yeah, you know what, I think it's important, I think, as I said, I'm not talking about, again, the context matters, I'm not talking about you know pulling someone over, you know racial discrimination pulling someone over because their Black, that's not what I'm talking about. I'm talking about someone who, I mean I'll go back to the airport example. Someone who, you know if you look at the identities of the people {laughs} that they've captured that were trying to commit these terrorist acts, there's a trend {you can hear smiling in her voice, and her attitude is a bit irreverent}. And I'm sorry, I'm going to be more suspicious of someone who looks like one of those men, then someone, like my 85 year-old grandmother in a wheel chair that they like to frisk. I mean, it's just like, I think it's common sense. And, you know, a lot of people don't like to come out and say that but I really, I think it's necessary. I don't, I mean, it's safety, I don't, if they're not, and if they're, and it's simple. It's like checking someone's, checking someone's luggage or whatever. I don't think that, I mean obviously [they] shouldn't have you know harm done to them or be, you know, prosecuted, just based on looks, that's ridiculous, but I mean, I think that, if it's a matter of, 'oh can I check your bags?,' or 'oh do you mind doing a little—' stopping the person and checking their bags instead of like sending them through if they look suspicious, cause I, just like they did in Times Square they had, you know, when something's suspicious, there's a sketchy van sitting there, like, you know you have to check it out. If you check it out, you have a chance of preventing it. If you

> say, oh well that's not like PC, and you just let it go, that's when bad things happen, I think.
>
> Susan: So do you support different procedures for people who happen to share traits with the enemy, whomever that enemy happens to be. Twenty years from now, it could be different…it could be Albania or whomever. Whether it's a border crossing or wherever….
>
> Dylan: I do, because I think that…if they are, just a normal person not trying to do anything, just trying to travel, just trying to go on with their lives, I think that they, if they are, if they are you know supportive of the US, or however you want to put it, then they should be respectful of the fact that we are in a war and that that is one of our concerns. So yeah if they wanna like check my bag again, you know, really, it's two minutes of your time.

Two other students of color, Pradeep (Video Group) and Crystal (Written Group) brought up personal experiences of racial profiling in our conversation. Pradeep, who is of South Asian descent, travels through a high-security airport frequently and has been pulled aside by agents. He also has been followed around in stores. In terms of its impact on his attitudes about racial profiling, he specifically said: "Yeah, one, I get like sympathetic, if it's like a victim talking. I get, I'll get like defensive if people are saying stuff doesn't happen. Like that's just the type of person I am and I get really defensive about it because I feel like some people just don't know because they've been privileged like where they've been brought up, but, yeah." But he still chose "it depends" on Question 9 both before and after the presentation and said of his airport experiences, "I think it's like bad because clearly I'm just a college kid" but "I understand where like it's coming from, sometimes you kind of have to…racially profile, but like it's not ideally what

should happen." After acknowledging that "most of the bombers and like terrorists are from like Middle Eastern descent," he went so far as to say, "even if I like saw a 19-year old kid just like with a backpack, like I'd be like a little suspicious, maybe, as opposed to a white kid." Crystal, a mixed-race woman, disagreed both before and after the presentation with racial profiling. She and her friends have encountered racial profiling in everyday settings. Active in theater, she explained, "I can look at lot of different ways, so, and it's just interesting seeing how I'm treated and I don't think it's fair because I'm like a really good person. It's like, one day, I'll walk into a store and I'll get followed, and then another day I'll walk into a store and I'll get treated like a princess. So that's the reason I thought it was wrong because I've seen a lot of my friends, like, look really 'hood or ghetto or things like that, and they're the kindest people in the world and would never hurt a fly, and I've seen like people assume that they are drug dealers or gangsters, you know, and I just don't think it's right." Yet, when asked if the government was legitimate in its worry over the Japanese, she said, "I could definitely see like the reasoning and motive behind it, but I wouldn't say I'm in agreement. But I can, I can, I can like see um, how it could be justified, I guess." As mentioned, she thought internment was "basically right but implemented wrongly" in the pre- and post-test.

Lastly, although it was not always about race, comments from some students revealed that they had been influenced by diversity—or lack of it—in their lives.

Peter, a white man in the Written Group, said he was proud of the diversity of his home and school environments. He also spoke about a high school trip to Japan, which he mentioned while explaining to me why he thought internment was "fundamentally wrong." He said, "And having lived on [the] North West and the South West and you see that these people, they have more in common with me than they do with other Japanese people of Japanese descent 1,000 miles away to the North or the South, so the fundamentally wrong part is just, I dunno it seemed like they were sort of jumping to conclusions that weren't really there because the bombing of Pearl Harbor was unexpected, but that was like a military attack and then, it seemed like you're sort of shooting yourself in the foot in a way, I dunno."

Gary, a white man in the Control Group, discussed how his experience of volunteering in a prison through the For Boston program at BC directly influenced his opinions about rights for prisoners. He noted, "it was a great experience and I got to know people inside of there, and any stereotypes I might have had of prisoners kind of were broken down 'cause I got to know people on like a personal level and like realize a lot of them were just like me but kind of screwed up and made a mistake and that's why they're there."

Anne, a white woman in the Control Group, discussed traveling and volunteer experiences, and both seemed to broaden her perspective of the world. Because

her mother works in the airline industry, she traveled widely from a young age. She said:

> I feel like growing up in America, we have this perception that we have it all figured out and that we're the only ones who know what we're doing and we [are] all powerful and everything. I think that like traveling to Africa, South Africa and like to these little villages and everything was an awesome experience just to see that other people are in the world and have the same rights and are people with the same hopes and fears and dreams that we have, so I think that was one. Also just like service has been a huge part of my life. I grew up in a suburb of Minneapolis but I went on a mission trip to Chicago every year and went to Mexico for a service trip one year…through my church. So I think that has really shaped the compassion I have for people and that's I think overall, that affects my views more than like the policies….

She was also the only Caucasian student to verbalize an awareness of her white privilege. When discussing racial profiling, she was ambivalent (and kept her answer "it depends" before and after the presentation, as shown in Table 5.12) acknowledging the difficulty of forming an opinion while a member of a majority group. She said, "I don't know if I was like Mexican or Iranian or something, if I would be ok with that saying like, 'yeah, I do look like that, and I'm willing to give up those rights just so our country is safer.' I think if I was one of those people, I would have a better-justified answer to that."

Sometimes a *lack* of diversity seemed to play a role in shaping respondents' views. Jane, a white woman in the Control Group, was raised Catholic even though she has a Jewish father. When asked about personal experiences that might have influenced how she thought about the issues raised in this study, she

thought limited exposure to others might have shaped her views: “there's so many other religions out there, and other races, that I've just never really interacted with other than reading about them in a text book is probably where some of my views developed from.” As shown in Table 5.12, she moved from “agree” to “it depends” on the racial profiling question after the presentation. Other students also seem influenced by a lack of diversity in their surroundings. As mentioned, Dylan, Marcel and Ethel attended predominantly white schools and from their comments, that experience seemed to influence the formation of their own racial identity.

Cultural Ideas

Interviewees’ responses to questions about personal experiences and influences on their belief systems indicated that a wide variety of cultural ideas shaped their views on topics relevant to this study.

Religion

Two respondents, Donny (Control Group) and Scarlet (Written Group) cited their religious beliefs as important factors in the development of their beliefs. He was careful not to overstate its importance, but Peter (Written Group), who was educated at Jesuit institutions throughout his life, cited the order’s tradition of “questioning things and…putting yourself in sort of uncomfortable situations

maybe to try to get a better sense of what other people are thinking, how other people live" as an influence on his beliefs.

Ethnic or national ideas

Gina (Video Group) spoke of her "big, crazy Italian" family, and Ethel (Control Group) of her "traditional Korean" ways, while Jon (Written Group), whose upbringing spanned cultures and continents, drew from multiple backgrounds when forming his belief system. The influence of cultural sensibilities seemed most influential for Ethel, who spoke often of Korean and Asian ideals. In addition to Evan (Control Group), Gina also the words "American Dream," but when describing the values of her extended family.

Politics

Political beliefs came up in a few of the interviews. Evan (Control Group) and Gina (Video Group) described their families as politically conservative (although Gina said that she and her mother were more moderate in their orientation). Both Evan and Chris (Written Group) curiously spoke of their efforts to be liberal in their younger years, but both are clearly conservative now. The subject of taxes came up in the conversations with Chris, Evan, Jon (Written Group), Dylan (Video Group) and Marcel (Control Group), with Evan and Marcel discussing the topic in the context of illegal immigration. Rina (Written Group) briefly

mentioned her father's political views, which she attributed to his social class growing up.

Schooling

Evan (Control Group), Jane (Control Group) and Alan (Written Group) referred back to their majors (finance, business, criminal justice, respectively) when explaining their opinions. A finance major, Evan tried to calculate what the US government would have to pay internees for the loss of property. Jane thought her business major might be why she thought in terms of risk-assessment when evaluating rights the government should allow in a time of war. Alan, a criminal justice major, believes that race is related to crime:

> Alan: [A] lot of statistics show that certain groups of people are more likely to commit crimes. And especially for like with the Japanese, you're going to want to look towards them if for your own safety when it came to World War II. But it's just—I mean not to be racist.
>
> Susan: Say what, you know, say whatever you want.
>
> Alan: It's, I mean whether it's gangs, like more gangs or, I don't know. It's hard to say but it's just more going by statistics, a lot more crimes are committed by different races than—
>
> Susan: Than?
>
> Alan: Like Black people are more likely to commit like certain crimes than white people are. But white people just usually, I mean like, white collar crimes are mostly committed by white people.

Others talked about their schooling as influential to them in a more general way. Liam (Video Group) listed a private school education as among the factors that

influenced his beliefs, Gary (Control Group), the service culture at BC, and as mentioned, Peter (Written Group), believes the Jesuit ethos of his schools informed his outlook.

Media

A few students mentioned the media among the influences on their beliefs and opinions. Ethel (Control Group) recognized how her interest and knowledge of the Holocaust had been affected by the media and contrasted that to Japanese internment. Marcel (Control Group), who said he believes that "the whole Patriot Act is definitely necessary for the protection of the people" when discussing why he was willing to give up some privacy for national security, mused that his beliefs might be due to the TV drama "24," of which he is a "big fan." The program, in his view, "highlights the importance of okay, what's more important? Detaining a certain amount of people or the lives of hundreds of million Americans?" He referenced the show again when discussing the likelihood of internment happening again and also when wrestling with his desire to protect against terrorism and safeguard human rights.

Family dynamics

Beyond the seemingly knee-jerk response of "my family," several respondents mentioned some kind of familial *dynamic* as an influence on them and their opinions, e.g., birth order or role within the family. Gary (Control Group) mused

that being the youngest contributed to his "wanting to make the world a better place" and even described his role in his family as the "peacemaker" when his parents and siblings experienced conflict. Peter's (Written Group) parents came from very large families and said that maintaining close ties to loved ones was important to them. While she discussed the issue within the context of social class, Rina (Written Group) cited her parents' different roles in their own nuclear family (her mother was an only child, her father was not) and said her mother's experience with an alcoholic father influenced her parenting style with regard to alcohol. Ethel's (Control Group) place in the family was a key factor in shaping her perspective. She is the oldest child of an oldest child, and as eldest among all her cousins, she looked after them growing up. Gina's (Video Group) cited her mother as having "a really strong impact" on her, in part because they were on their own for many years after her parents divorced. Alan (Written Group) noted that his family is "pretty close" and that his parents became a couple when they were teenagers.

Social Class and Social Inequality

Rina (Written Group) was the only respondent to specifically articulate social class as an influence on her beliefs and opinions. She described her own family's socioeconomic status as lower middle class, and explained how class location influenced the perspectives of her parents. (Her parents were from different class

backgrounds, her father from a working class family and her mother was a more privileged only child of a middle class couple.)

Three students (Gary and Anne, Control Group; Alan, Written Group) described very stable backgrounds and felt this was a factor in shaping their views on the topics we discussed. Anne and Alan both felt their backgrounds handicapped their ability to answer a question. When asked about racial profiling, Anne said, "I think I take for granted like feeling very secure so I'm wondering if I grew up in a third-world country where there was constantly war, like if some of these questions if I would be more, yeah, 'take away all my freedoms, I just want to be secure,' so I think that's why I'm wishy-washy, because I've never like felt my freedom has been infringed upon or my security." Alan felt that due to his "great upbringing," he was ill-prepared to imagine the experiences of camp internees. By contrast, Crystal's (Written Group) challenges as a (financially) independent student at BC instilled in her a desire to care for others, because so many people along the way helped her when she was is need.

Gary's (Control Group) volunteer work tutoring inmates seemed to help him identify structural inequalities at play in society. The work, which he described as "an eye-opening experience" that "challenge[s] the stereotypes that society has of who is in jail" directly influenced his opinion that "every human should be guaranteed certain rights." He also gained a broader view of the US penal system, noting that he had "a different point of view on…who kind of goes to prison" and

"how many people are locked up in the US" which he characterized as "kind of ridiculous, like compared to the world's population." His two years in BC's For Boston program made him "realize things were happening that like I didn't know about earlier," so the experience raised his consciousness. Similarly, Anne went on an Arupe trip with BC a few months prior to our interview that raised her awareness of issues relevant to immigration and poverty, though she admitted that the experience left her with more confusion than answers.

Gina (Video Group) did not expressly characterize her family's perspective as having anything to do with social class per se, but she described their attitude as "really big on the American dream" and said "making a name for yourself and making money is a really big thing in my family." Her family runs a small business founded by her great-grandparents, at least one of whom was an immigrant from Italy. They are "all business oriented" and found her desire to study medicine and think about others "weird." The length of time it will take her to get through school is a negative to them. She made it clear that the family had done well financially, but this attitude seemed characteristic of a family who had struggled to establish itself in a new country and work its way up through the working class while maintaining a working-class ethos.

Ethel's (Control Group) class background had a strong influence on her reaction to the issues brought forth in the presentation and interview. On Question 10c,

financial compensation for someone imprisoned but later found innocent, she moved from "it depends" to "agree" after she saw the presentation. She explained her switch this way: "I think it was because after I saw the Japanese [the small business owners] and like, you know, they came out with nothing. I just felt like if my family had to go through that, like how tough it would be, so I said like financial compensation for that." When asked about personal experiences that might have influenced her views, she became very emotional and cried during our interview, thinking about her parents' struggle in various jobs as immigrants from Korea.[95]

At other times, there were ways in which class seemed to influence respondents' views but they did not express the connection. From our conversation, I was convinced that Dylan's (Video Group) upbringing outside New York City was financially privileged. (She discussed her father's success, attended prep school, and traveled frequently, both internationally and domestically, since childhood.) Other than saying she was "afforded a lot more opportunities" than her immigrant father, she did not acknowledge any class privileges and their effects on her values and opinions.

Immigration experiences and immigration policy

Immigration experiences, either their own or those of family members, figured in to the stories of some respondents, but immigration *policy* influenced the

[95] Ethel's emotional response during our conversation will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

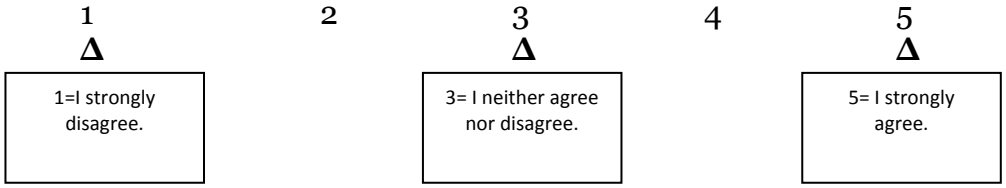
biographies of Evan (Control Group) and Pradeep (Video Group). Evan expressed disenchantment with American politics for various reasons, but expressly said, “I wasn't born here so that was the other big thing, not going to go into politics if I can't get the big seat. {laughs}” Pradeep’s parents found immigrating to the US from India challenging. His aunt was denied a visa to move to, or even visit, the US when he was born “for like no reason really.” He understands that “not all immigrants should be looked at suspiciously and stuff…I know like a lot of immigrant families, too, and [that] kind of shaped…how I think the government works with immigrant policies.”

What did participants think about the specific case of Japanese internment?

I saved direct opinion questions about Japanese internment until the last portion of the survey, because participants would fill out the pre-survey before they knew what my presentation was about and I wanted them to answer the questions without having any associations to the topic at hand. In fact, questions pertaining in any way to internment begin at Question 13, which asked them to rate their knowledge about the subject. Participants were not asked *an opinion* regarding internment until the last two questions on the survey, Questions 18 and 19. Question 18 addresses the efficacy of the government’s plan.

Survey Question 18

I think the US government accomplished its goal of making the country safer by interning the Japanese while it was at war with Japan. Circle one.



As can be seen from the scale, higher scores indicated a higher level of agreement and perhaps, by extension, less empathy, tolerance of ethnic/racial "others," and a greater acceptance of government authority and limitations of freedom (at least for others) in a time of war. So that Questions 18 and 19 could be analyzed in a like manner, I reverse-coded Question 18 so that higher scores reflected a disagreement with the idea that internment made America safer (and perhaps, by extension, reflect more empathy, greater tolerance of others, and less acceptance of the government's limitation of personal freedom).

As the tables below indicate, a majority of students disagreed that internment made the country safer both before and after the presentation. The two categories that indicate any amount of agreement with the idea that internment made the US safer lost cases in the post-test, as did the neutral category. There were fewer participants who simply "disagreed" that the country was safer, but almost 20% more who "strongly disagreed" after the presentation.

Table 5.14: Frequency Report for Question 18, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	6	2.8	2.9	2.9
	2.00	14	6.5	6.7	9.5
	3.00	42	19.6	20.0	29.5
	4.00	62	29.0	29.5	59.0
	5.00	**86**	**40.2**	**41.0**	**100.0**
	Total	210	98.1	100.0	
Missing	System	4	1.9		
Total		214	100.0		

Table 5.15: Frequency Report for Question 18, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	2	.9	.9	.9
	2.00	8	3.7	3.7	4.7
	3.00	36	16.8	16.8	21.5
	4.00	41	19.2	19.2	40.7
	5.00	**127**	**59.3**	**59.3**	**100.0**
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.16 shows that the variables are skewed.

Table 5.16 Statistics for Question 18, Pre and Post

		Q18_W1rev	Q18_W2rev
N	Valid	210	214
	Missing	4	0
Skewness		-.887	-1.223
Std. Error of Skewness		.168	.166

The variables were transformed so that scores of 4's and 5's (1's and 2's indicating "strongly disagree" and "disagree" in the original question) are combined and given the value 1, and all other scores (neutral and agreement answers) are combined and given the value 0.

Binary logistic regression revealed that those who felt neutral or agreed that the country was safer had greater changes in their responses after seeing the presentation. The pre-test and post-test variables were highly correlated and the pre-test responses predicted the post-test responses. Choosing "strongly disagree" or "disagree" in the pre-test increased the odds that the participant would choose this response in the post test.

Table 5.17: Variables in the Equation

								95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	**Q18_W1revtrans**	**3.536**	**.541**	**42.665**	**1**	**.000**	**34.338**	**11.883**	**99.219**
	vidgroup	1.138	.650	3.066	1	.080	3.122	.873	11.162
	writgroup	.510	.629	.658	1	.417	1.665	.486	5.710
	racetrans	**-1.912**	**.722**	**7.006**	**1**	**.008**	**.148**	**.036**	**.609**
	males	**-1.039**	**.485**	**4.595**	**1**	**.032**	**.354**	**.137**	**.915**
	schooltrans	-1.204	.671	3.224	1	.073	.300	.081	1.117
	upperandlower	-.597	.547	1.194	1	.275	.550	.188	1.607
	Constant	2.129	1.013	4.419	1	.036	8.409		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Q18_W1revtrans, vidgroup, writgroup, racetrans, males, schooltrans, upperandlower.

At the .05 level of significance, being female (as opposed to male) and being a student of color (as opposed to white) also increased the log odds that the participant would choose "strongly disagree" or "disagree" in the post-test.

The final question in the survey, Question 19, asked the participants to consider the ethics of interning the Japanese.

Survey Question 19

The internment of the Japanese in America during WWII was: Circle one.

- Fundamentally right
- Basically right, but implemented wrongly
- Problematic, but necessary
- Fundamentally wrong

Table 5.18: Question 19, Pre-Test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	fund right	1	.5	.5	.5
	basically right/imp wrongly	21	9.8	10.0	10.5
	problematic/necessary	38	17.8	18.1	28.6
	fund wrong	**150**	**70.1**	**71.4**	**100.0**
	Total	210	98.1	100.0	
	missing	4	1.9		
Total		214	100.0		

Table 5.19: Question 19, Post-Test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	fund right	1	.5	.5	.5
	basically right/imp wrongly	14	6.5	6.6	7.0
	problematic/necessary	23	10.7	10.8	17.8
	fund wrong	**175**	**81.8**	**82.2**	**100.0**
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

As Tables 5.18 and 5.19 above illustrate, only one participant in the entire sample believed that internment was, at its core, fundamentally right both before and after the presentation. This student, Evan, is part of the Control Group, and his opinions are discussed below.

Most participants believed that internment was fundamentally wrong, and that portion increased by approximately 10% in the post-test. The percentage of participants who believed that internment was "basically right" and "problematic but necessary" also decreased from pre- to post-test.

Table 5. 20: Statistics for Question 19, Pre and Post

		Ethics_1	Ethics_2
N	Valid	210	213
	Missing	4	1
Skewness		-1.554	-2.341
Std. Error of Skewness		.168	.167

As Table 5.20 above shows, the variables are skewed. The variables were transformed into a dichotomous variable so that cases scoring a 4 ("fundamentally wrong") were given a "1" and all other scores (except missing cases) were combined and given a "0."

As with Question 18, Binary logistic regression shows that the pre-test and post-test variables are highly correlated, and the pre-test responses predicted the post-test responses at a .05 level of significance. Believing internment was fundamentally wrong before the presentation increased the log odds of believing this way after the presentation. Those who believed internment was fundamentally right, or who were more ambivalent about their feelings, had greater changes in their responses after seeing the presentation.

Table 5.21 Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	**Q19_W1trans**	**4.609**	**.743**	**38.443**	**1**	**.000**	**100.350**	**23.379**	**430.742**
	vidgroup	-.120	.761	.025	1	.875	.887	.200	3.941
	writgroup	**-1.531**	**.745**	**4.223**	**1**	**.040**	**.216**	**.050**	**.932**
	racetrans	-.264	.705	.140	1	.708	.768	.193	3.057
	males	-1.106	.567	3.803	1	.051	.331	.109	1.006
	schooltrans	-1.177	.694	2.874	1	.090	.308	.079	1.202
	upperandlower	.552	.621	.791	1	.374	1.736	.514	5.861
	Constant	1.624	1.042	2.432	1	.119	5.076		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Q19_W1trans, vidgroup, writgroup, racetrans, males, schooltrans, upperandlower.

However, Table 5.21 reflects a more surprising finding as well. Those who read the written testimonies from the survivors of Japanese internment were more likely to choose a score of 1, 2 or 3, that is, "fundamentally right," 'basically right" or "problematic but necessary." That any group exposed to victim testimonies, in any format, would have an increased likelihood of supporting the incarceration is troubling. Participants from the Written Group were drawn from drawn from classes entitled *Crime and Social Justice*, *Statistics*, *Introductory Sociology*, and *Morality and the Natural World*. Perhaps these classes drew a particular type of student predisposed toward a less tolerant perspective. Indeed, three of the seven interview respondents drawn from this group expressed consistently conservative views. However a look at the p value for this Written Group variable provides

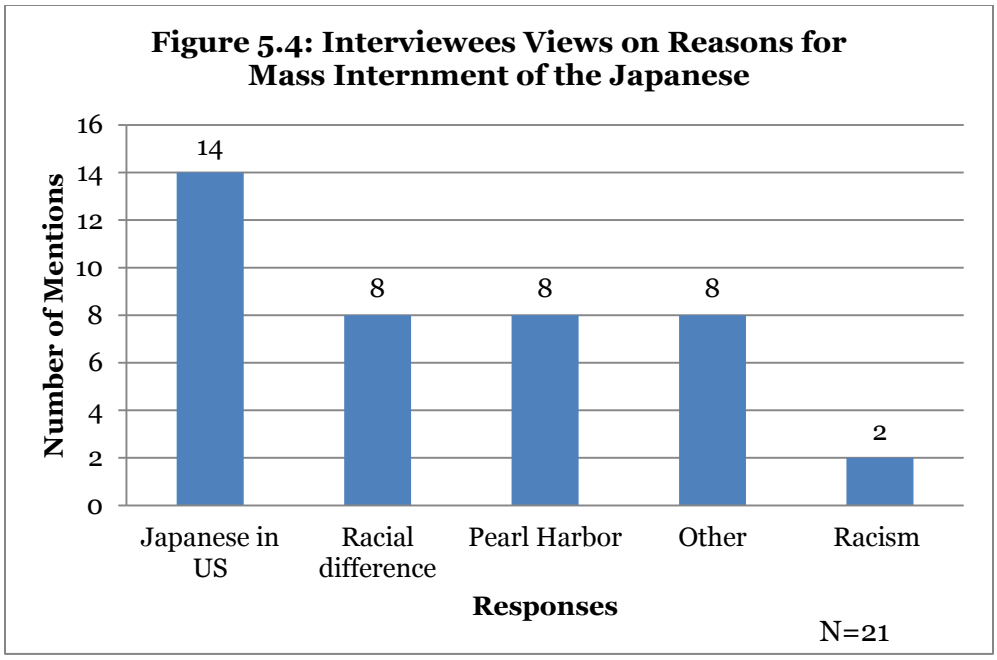
another plausible reason for a statistically significant finding. A value of .04 means that one can expect to get this result in 4% of tests, whether true in actuality or not. So, perhaps the finding represents a "false positive," and that in reality, participants in the Written Group do not have greater odds than participants of the other groups of believing that internment was right.

Interview Respondents' Opinions About Internment

Targeting the Japanese in America

The interviews provided a closer look at opinions about internment. Fairly early into the interview, I asked respondents the following question: Why do you think America interned the Japanese en masse, but not the Germans or Italians in America, if the US was at war with all three countries?"[96]

[96] When asking this question, I acknowledged that some Germans and Italians were imprisoned in America during the war.



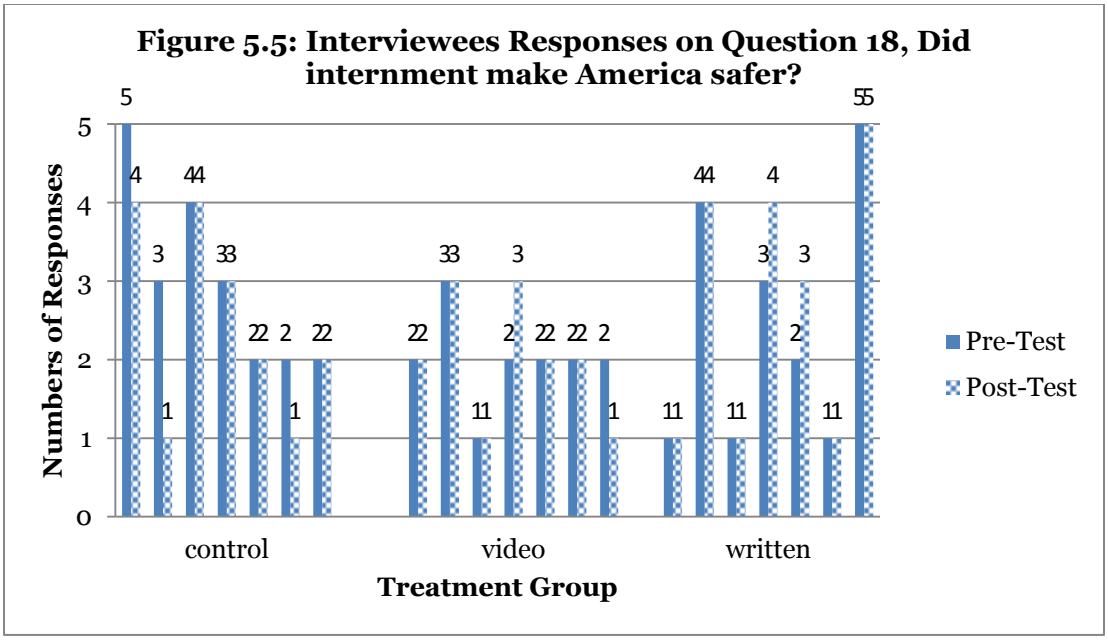
Respondents offered many reasons why the Japanese were singled out for internment. Many cited aspects of the role in Japanese in American society at the time: their recent immigration to this country (four students), geographical concentration in the West (three students), cultural difference/level of assimilation (three students), as well as their relative power (two students) and size (two students) within the population. Japan's direct attack on US soil was cited by eight respondents as America's reason for internment. Many believe that racial differences made Japanese easier to identify than Germans and Italians, but only two respondents specifically said *racism* played a part in internment. As mentioned in Chapter 4, two respondents explicitly said in other parts of their interviews that they did not think racism precipitated internment. Lastly, there were reflections on power, our relationship to Japan and its size, and speculation

that Germany had issued a call to arms to its citizens, and that those who remained in the US were likely thought to be loyal to America.

Did interning the Japanese result in a safer America?

Table 5.22 below shows how the interview respondents represented their opinion about the efficacy of internment in keeping America safe in the surveys. Figure 5.5 reveals that the Video Group had the most people before and after the presentation who believed that internment did not make America safer. As is shown in the summary, one-third of all interview respondents strongly disagreed that internment made the country safer in the in post-test.

Table 5.22 Question 18: Did internment make America safer? *Responses true to participants' selection i.e., before variable was reverse coded				
	Pre-Test	**Post-Test**	**Change?**	**Direction**
Control				
Evan	5	4	Yes	More tolerant
Marcel	3	1	Yes	More tolerant
Jane	4	4		
Gary	3	3		
Anne	2	2		
Ethel	2	1	Yes	More tolerant
Donny	2	2		
Video				
Gina	2	2		
Elle	3	3		
Pradeep	1	1		
Matt	2	3	Yes	Less tolerant
Liam	2	2		
Dylan	2	2		
Bonnie	2	1	Yes	More tolerant
Written				
James	1	1		
Chris	4	4		
Peter	1	1		
Scarlet	3	4	Yes	Less tolerant
Rina	2	3	Yes	Less tolerant
Crystal	1	1		
Alan	5	5		
N=21				



Scale reflects question as it appeared on survey, i.e., 1=Strongly Disagree - 5=Strongly Agree

Pre-test summary:

Internment made America Safer	
Strongly Agree	2 (1 Control Group, 1 Written Group) – 9.5%
Agree	2 (1 Control Group, 1 Written Group) – 9.5%
Neither Agree/Disagree	4 (2 Control Group, 1 Video Group, 1 Written Group) – 19%
Disagree	9 (3 Control Group, 5 Video Group, 1 Written Group) – 43%
Strongly Disagree	4 (1 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 19%

Post-test summary:

Internment made America Safer	
Strongly Agree	1 (Control Group) – 5%
Agree	4 (2 Control Group, 2 Written Group) – 19%
Neither Agree/Disagree	4 (1 Control Group, 2 Video Group, 1 Written Group) – 19%
Disagree	5 (2 Control Group, 3 Video Group) – 24%
Strongly Disagree	7 (2 Control Group, 2 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 33%

Nineteen of the 21 participants interviewed spoke to this issue, and the discussions offer more insight into what respondents really think of internment as a national security defense. Many interview respondents remained unconvinced that the Japanese were innocent victims of fear, hyperbole and racism. First, let us consider those who were moved by the presentation to change their survey response on Question 18 in the post-test.

Answer-Switchers

"Answers-switchers" are participants whose answers changed between the pre- and post-test. I characterized them as "more tolerant" if they moved toward the right on the scale (disagreeing that internment made America safer) and "less tolerant" if they moved toward the left on the scale (agreeing that internment made America safer) from pre- to post-test. There were four interview respondents whose post-test survey answers moved in a more-tolerant direction, and three whose post-test answers moved in a less-tolerant direction.

The three respondents who chose a *less tolerant* score on the post-test were all exposed to survivor testimonies. Both Matt (Video Group) and Scarlet (Written Group) gave similar explanations in their interviews:

> ...it's difficult to see because probably the majority of those people, or the vast majority, were probably innocent. But, because there was internment, did that change something, I guess you, it's difficult to...to know. Matt

> Yeah, I think it did. Again…well nothing bad happened, but, they were also going to great lengths to be sure nothing bad happened, so…I think it did keep America safe. Scarlet

Perhaps the news reel, which highlighted the War Relocation Authority's effort to relocate tens of thousands of Japanese, prompted Scarlet's use of the words "great lengths." Rina (Written Group) explained that she felt the country was safer because internment made Americans *feel* safer, so her answer change really does not reflect a less tolerant attitude.

Of the four respondents whose answers moved toward tolerance, interview dialogue reveals that one, Evan, an adoptee from Korea in the Control Group, remained convinced that internment did keep America safe. He moved from a 5, "strongly agree," to a 4, "agree," because I mentioned in the presentation that no evidence of espionage or sabotage was ever discovered (which he inaccurately describes as "a statistic") and then immediately voices suspicion of statistics. "How many times is the government wrong honestly? A statistic to me doesn't prove the point that there was no security risk." While he expressed much cynicism and disappointment in the government in different points in the interview, he also seemed unconvinced that the Japanese were innocent. When discussing whether or not someone wrongly detained should be able to sue the government, he said:

> It's hard to go back and say that this discomfort was clearly wrong in the modern mindset and to go and sue them. Certainly in the Japanese situation again, touching on that quickly, you don't know

> what the effects were. It's hard to say that in some small way that some double agent or some agent was detained and he was not able to steal the nuclear secrets that could've given the A bomb to Jap—I mean obviously this is kind of an extreme scenario, but you just don't know.

Marcel (Control Group), who was adopted from Korea into a Swiss-American family, moved out of neutral mindset to a "strongly disagree" position after seeing the presentation. He speculated that his emotional response to the presentation influenced his switch and wondered aloud if his reaction would be the same if the internees belonged to a different racial group.[97] One can detect a lot of ambivalence in his comments. He tries to explain his opinion this way:

> So maybe just the emotions just made me realize—I'm also like, I don't know. I think maybe from what I've read in the past, I just don't think that internment really helped [the government's] case. Because I feel like a lot of the Japanese Americans were against—well first of all, probably were against the war itself, but were against the acts of the Japanese. I don't think you can I guess classify everyone as having the same opinions simply because of their skin color and how they look. So I think it didn't really do anything. I feel like I'm changing my opinion though on this. I feel like….I feel like it is never okay—I feel like—I'm so torn I guess. I feel like it's never okay—now that I think about it, I think it's not okay to—well first of all, I'm completely against the whole internment camp regardless of time of war, time of peace. I do—and that's because I also believe that something like this [internment] may happen in the future. That's why I guess I'm really scared of it.

Yet he also defended the Patriot Act and said, "Even the Constitution mentions the fact that sometimes we may need to give up certain rights for like the benefit of the whole." He returned to this "group benefit versus the rights of the individual" theme a few times during the interview.

[97] Marcel's emotional response to the presentation will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Seeing the presentation caused the two other answer-switchers to disagree more strongly. When asked to explain her move from a 2, “disagree” to a 1, “strongly disagree,” on the scale, Bonnie (Video Group) cited the citizenship ratio as deepening her disapproval. Ethel (Control Group), a Korean American, cited the lack of evidence against the Japanese. Her comments included the following statements: “I mean at that time as soon as Pearl Harbor was bombed I guess like I would feel a little suspicious and worried…. But, I mean, I understand why they would do such a thing in the beginning…. And then after hearing about like how these people were innocent this whole time I guess after [I] changed it.”

Respondents with stable answers from pre- to post-test

The rest of the interview respondents’ survey responses remained static between the pre- and post-test. Of these “non-changers,” 12 spoke about Question 18 in their interview. Comments from seven respondents suggest a belief that the Japanese in America could cause harm if not interned, even if they expressed disapproval of internment at the same time. Crystal’s (Written Group) comment typifies this ambivalence: “I guess there's no way of me really knowing, 'cause had it not happened, you know, it definitely could have been, some, some horrible things could've happened but I just think there were so many innocent people that were like detained, that it's like, what good did that do.” Jane (Control Group), Chris (Written Group), and Liam (Video Group) gave similar answers.

Elle, a white woman in Video Group who marked a 3, "I neither agree nor disagree," on both the pre- and post-test, said, "I guess I don't know the consequences of what would've happened if we didn't [intern the Japanese]" and also added "I would also fear the discrimination they faced…Americans can be really suspicious," and seemed to attribute her survey response to this reasoning as she wrapped up her comments on the issue. She was the only respondent who used this "it was for their own good" logic.

Comments from two Written Group respondents, Peter and Alan, were mirror images of one another. Peter strongly disagreed that internment made America safer before and after the presentation and explicitly said, "the ends did not justify the means." Yet he qualified his remarks by saying, "Of course I don't know all the circumstances of what the government knew or didn't know…" This comment shows some faith that the government perhaps did have intelligence against the Japanese. Alan, who strongly agreed that internment made America safer before and after the presentation, believed that the ends *did* justify the means: "Well because I mean everything worked out fine, so I want to say that it did [make the country safer]. But I mean I could be wrong. But we really can't say what would happen. But they easily could have revolted because there was enough of them in a small area. I think we did the right thing." Similar to Peter, Gary (Control Group) commented that he did not have enough information to answer the question, and thus selected a "3" on the pre- and post-test.

Gina's (Video Group) comment calls to mind remarks made by Bonnie (Video Group) and Rina (Written Group). Like Rina, she believes that Americans *felt* safer because of internment, but does not think "we were actually much safer" and like Bonnie, cites the proportion of American citizens within the camps, and notes that "most American citizens wouldn't do that to us."

Two Control Group respondents, Anne and Donny, both chose 2, "disagree," as opposed to 1, "strongly disagree," at least in part because detaining the Japanese made the country safer by default, though they came at that point with differing attitudes. For Anne, an answer of 2 was a way to indicate that there was some risk to America since Japan bombed the country, but it would not be possible to eliminate a threat entirely since they did not imprison every Japanese in the US or in Japan, and that not all were a threat anyway. Donny wryly said, "if you imprison the whole country, it's going to be completely safe…."

Was interning the Japanese the right thing to do?

Table 5.23, and the accompanying summary, illustrates how respondents answered Question 19. I engaged 15 of the 21 interviewees in a discussion about their response to Question 19, seeking clarification from those whose survey answers changed from pre- to post-test or whose answer seemed inconsistent with other answers or interview statements.

Table 5.23 Question 19 (rightness of internment)				
	Pre-Test	**Post-Test**	**Change?**	**Direction**
Control				
Evan	Fund right	Fund right		
Marcel	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Jane	Problematic	Problematic		
Gary	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Anne	Problematic	Fund wrong	Yes	More tolerant
Ethel	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Donny	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Video				
Gina	Basically Right	Fund wrong	Yes	More tolerant
Elle	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Pradeep	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Matt	Problematic	Fund wrong	Yes	More tolerant
Liam	Problematic	Problematic		
Dylan	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Bonnie	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Written				
James	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Chris	Problematic	Problematic		
Peter	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Scarlet	Problematic	Problematic		
Rina	Fund wrong	Fund wrong		
Crystal	Basically right	Basically right		
Alan	Problematic	Problematic		
N=21				

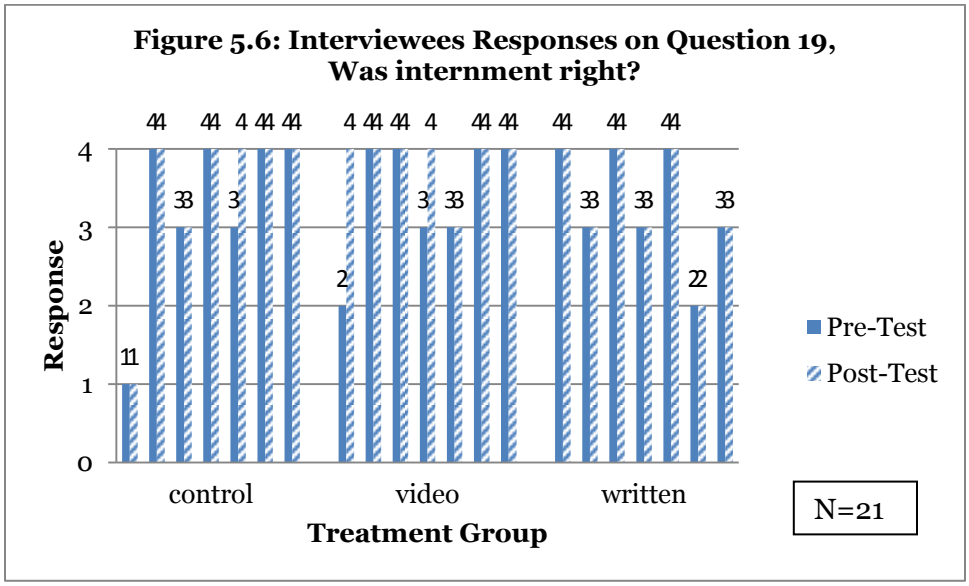
Pre-test summary:
<u>Internment was…</u>

Fundamentally Right	1 (Control Group) – 5%
Basically Right	2 (1 Video Group, 1 Written Group) – 10%
Problematic	7 (2 Control Group, 2 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 33%
Fundamentally Wrong	11 (4 Control Group, 4 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 52%

Post-test summary:
<u>Internment was…</u>

Fundamentally Right	1 (Control Group) –5%
Basically Right	1 (Written Group) – 5%

Problematic	5 (1 Control Group, 1 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 24%
Fundamentally Wrong	14 (5 Control Group, 6 Video Group, 3 Written Group) – 66%



1=Fundamentally right 2=Basically right 3=Problematic 4=Fundamentally wrong

Answer-Switchers

Similar to my analysis of Question 18, "answers-switchers" are characterized as "more tolerant" if they moved toward disagreeing that internment was fundamentally right and "less tolerant" if they moved toward agreeing that internment was fundamentally right, from pre- to post-test. Three interview respondents were answer-switchers, and each selected "fundamentally wrong" in the post-test, thus moving in the direction of tolerance.

Anne's (Control Group) explanation indicates that the presentation was responsible for changing her belief that internment was "problematic but necessary" to "fundamentally wrong," yet in the end, seems unconvinced of the internees' innocence:

> Anne: I think that at first I did, that it was um, it's problematic because you don't wanna hurt these people or force something upon them but it is necessary to ensure safety in our country. And I think just that after the presentation I felt that it was right in no way and they didn't really pose any sort of threat to us.
>
> Susan: Again, was that like the statistics or the conditions or duration or do you remember?
>
> Anne: I think it was the statistics, like the lack of reasoning for it, besides that we were scared, I think it was the conditions you described, I think it was all of those combined.

The other two answer-switchers, Gina and Matt, were both in the Video Group. Gina moved two notches after watching the presentation, from believing that internment was "basically right but implemented wrongly" to a "fundamentally wrong" endeavor. A Brooklyn, New York native, she was clear throughout the interview that her proximity to the September 11th attacks affected her deeply. Yet, the newsreel changed her mind (even though she admitted, as discussed in Chapter 4, to experiencing feelings of patriotism while she watched it). She said that she felt "lied to."[98] She went on to explain, "I think there's other ways [to go] about it, I think interning everyone, citizen, noncitizens, I think that's…not right." Matt moved one notch after seeing the presentation, from "problematic but

[98] Ethel (Control Group) used the same words to describe her feelings about the newsreel and added "so I just thought it was fundamentally wrong," though she had chosen "fundamentally wrong" in the pre-test as well.

necessary" to "fundamentally wrong" and like Gina, cited the newsreel (which he referred to as a "propaganda thing"). He said, "the reasoning behind it was just like, way too ridiculous."

Respondents with stable answers from pre- to post-test

Some respondents—Evan, Alan, Chris, Scarlet—maintained opinions of internment that were fairly consistent with beliefs expressed throughout the discussion. For example, Evan, a participant in the Control Group and only one in the sample to believe that internment was "fundamentally right" in either the pre- or post-test, expressed consistent views throughout the interview. In fact, he wrote "It was better than Germany, no deaths, apology later by the gov't." next to his response for Question 19 on the pre-test. When asked about his survey answers in the interview, he substantiated his opinion with claims that "German groups had the same thing you know" both in the First and Second World War and "in many cases, it had a positive effect." When asked about racial profiling, he said, "you need to weigh the potential harm versus the potential good and when the harm is just incredible…[we] need to lessen someone's rights." As mentioned, Alan (Written Group), believes that crime statistics substantiate the profiling of minority groups. He continued to believe that internment was justified after seeing the presentation, proposed that the government could have put the Japanese up in people's homes, and acknowledged that, "we could have treated them a lot better and made it so it wasn't like—it was more for safety and

it wasn't like treating them like they weren't citizens and they had no rights." He was the only respondent to offer an alternative solution. Other students, like Scarlet (Written Group) and Crystal (Written Group), seemed to believe that the threat from the Japanese necessitated the response, while acknowledging internment as an untenable situation and yet could not bring to mind how it could have been improved. Scarlet tried to explain:

> It was problematic because it wasn't gone about maybe in the right way. People weren't treated well, they had poor living conditions, what they had to leave was not taken care of while they were gone, so it wasn't like, they left and came back to the same old lives. Like even if they had left and lost two years of their lives and then come back, that's not how it worked, you know, they came back and had to completely for the rest of their lives live differently or build up what they lost. And so I feel like, that was problematic and I don't have a solution for it, but that was not good, but at the same time, in this case it turned out to not, to be, the government to say, 'we're wrong, we shouldn't have done that,' whatever, because it turned out that none of them had these connections or whatever, but at the same time it was probably necessary because who are we, how do we know that by keeping someone away from those areas that we didn't want them, you know one of them might have been helping somebody, there might have been a plan, you know we can't know what didn't happen. So I feel like it was still unfortunately kind of necessary.

Other respondents, although they recognized the suffering it caused, could not get past the feeling that a threat was averted through internment. Chris (Written Group) said "they had to do something" yet characterized the removal of Japanese from their homes as "ridiculous." Liam (Video Group), who said before and after the presentation that internment was "problematic but necessary," acknowledged that internment "screwed up lives and businesses" (thus making

the plan "problematic") but "necessary" because "it was a terrifying time and…if that's what people needed to feel safe, in this country…like, I don't believe that's right, but if it gave people a sense of…we aren't afraid of all our neighbors, and like everywhere we go we're afraid, like they're already scared enough, you know, and this is just a product of that fear."

Discussion of Findings

This chapter accomplished two goals. First, the surveys and interviews provided a snap-shot of students' ability to think sociologically. Admittedly, this report only addresses two measures designed to operationalize a sociological imagination, which would not be suitable to measure such a concept thoroughly or conclusively. But both the quantitative and qualitative data provide insight. The survey data gave a mixed picture. The majority (albeit a small one) attribute success in America to personal agency, suggesting they downplay the effect of social forces in individual outcomes. Shanahan and Macmillan (2008:13) indicate that this is fairly typical, writing that "Most people see their lives and the lives of others as resulting from personal efforts, talents, shortcomings, personality, intelligence, and the like." On the other hand, the majority believed, in the post-test, that major historical events of the past 50 years touched their lives in an important way. In both cases, statistical analysis showed that the presentation moved participants with a weaker sociological perspective (as determined by these two measures) toward a stronger sociological perspective. We can hope that

with more time, experience and education, participants will develop a "sociological imagination," and indeed, Shanahan and MacMillian (2008:xix) aver that "sociological thinking is a cultivated skill, not a natural tendency."

The respondents' ability to identify specific historical events and social forces at play in their lives proved the most intriguing part of the interviews for me. Whether their knowledge came from family elders or direct experience, though, this awareness did not necessarily color their opinions related to rights and freedoms. I found that the descendent of Holocaust victims (Jane) could still believe internment to be "[problematic but] necessary" and the granddaughter of a Civil Rights-era witness (Crystal) could be both against racial profiling *and* maintain that internment was "basically right [but implemented wrongly]." In these cases, concern for national security seemed to trump all other concerns. Crystal, although she admitted she could offer no alternative suggestion, explained that, "you have to be careful…like it's a whole country they have to look over" while acknowledging "all the pain it caused." Jane discussed her answer this way: "I mean necessary in protecting your country, but whenever you're treating another person…harshly, it's hard to say that that's right. While it's right for protection, it's still, it's another human, it's kind of unjust."

In terms of their views on internment itself, the survey data show that on the whole, participants in this study did not agree that interning the Japanese made

America safer, and believed that the measure was a fundamentally wrong decision. The pre-tests indicate that most of the students held these views coming into the study, but statistical analysis revealed that the presentation did move those with less tolerant opinions beforehand toward more tolerant opinions in the post-test.

Again, interviews provided a closer look. Both before and after the presentation, over half of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed in the efficacy of internment in keeping America safe. Of the four whose answers moved in a more tolerant direction, all cited the presentation as changing their mind in some way—though three of these were in the Control Group and the woman in the Video Group referenced the citizenship ratio (although this only amplified her pre-existing disapproval), not the testimonies she viewed. Regardless of their survey responses, many seemed unconvinced that the Japanese were innocent victims, and believed that the government's action forestalled some unknown threat. Even those who disapproved of internment seem ambivalent when this response is compared to other statements in the interview. Elle and Dylan, both participants in the Video Group, believed that internment is "fundamentally wrong" both before and after seeing the presentation, yet also said the government's concerns about the Japanese in America were legitimate. Gary (Control Group), whose pre- and post-test answers to Question 19 were "fundamentally wrong," said repeatedly in our discussion that the camps were

wrong yet also said, “Obviously I don’t think it’s right what they did, or if it was right, implemented wrongly”—which suggests some ambivalence on his part. But he prefaced his remarks with a comment about the survey question phrasing: “just the way that all those are worded, it’s like hard to say exactly.” Chris’s comment hints that he, too, felt a bit confined by the limits of a close-ended survey question: “When I picked that [“problematic but necessary”]…it was so borderline…I wouldn’t like write a paper on that trying to argue it…it’s so hard.”

As discussed in Chapter 4, respondents also did not seem to absorb a main point of my presentation, that racism played a significant role in the decision to intern. Very few attributed the mass internment of Japanese to racism, rather, most blamed their role in society (e.g., newcomer status) or racial *difference* (even though racism was a central theme my presentation was crafted to convey).

To this point, I have evaluated the extent to which participants recalled and understood the material. I have also examined the effect of the presentation and testimonies on their opinions and perspective. Beyond these cerebral matters, it is equally important to understand how participants responded emotionally to the concepts brought forth in the study, and that is the subject of Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: What did they feel?
Participants' emotional and empathetic response

When teaching difficult history such as the internment of Japanese in America during WWII, making sure the lesson is remembered, understood, and that the material elicits the desired cognitive response are key goals. The two previous chapters speculated about how multimedia presentations, and witness testimonies contained within them, contribute to these worthy endeavors. One could argue that the most important objective we have as educators is penetrating apathy, preconceived ideas, and the hum of constant distraction to reach students' *humanity*. And there may be no more important time to address this concern than right now. We are living in an era in which entertainment content skews ever more toward un-real "reality" programming and technology dependence supersedes face-to-face interactions. But the *content* of the continuous media assault, and its effects, is what worries some. Writing in 2005, Clark described the present moment as:

> a time in human history when acts of violence, intimate and global, expose us on a daily basis to what can only be described as extreme human suffering' (267) and asserted that the 'turn toward indifference in our culture, heightened by the overload of images of suffering and violence, is the single greatest threat to our survival as a species and as individuals.' (271)

As previously mentioned, my own exposure to compelling material stimulated my interest in finding the most effective way to do move, excite and motivate learners. My findings suggest that, as a research community, we have work ahead of us to discover the best way to do that.

Study design based on research goals

When designing the instruments used in data collection for this study, I continually returned to my desire to produce data that would be of use to others. To that end, I queried non-profits working in related topics or using testimonies about what they would like to know. Sherry Bard from the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation posed questions most relevant to this chapter, specifically:

- Do testimonies personalize history?
- Do testimonies inspire empathy for others?
- Do testimonies shape students' attitudes in a positive way (making students more tolerant of others)?[99]

I operationalized Ms. Bard's questions in the survey and interview protocol in a variety of ways, based on an understanding of empathy I gained from the literature. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are myriad understandings of empathy, and conflicting opinions as to whether there can even be one universal meaning. Some researchers suggest that the construct consists of two main dimensions: a person's own emotional response to the circumstance of another, and their ability to imagine another's emotions and experiences in that circumstance. This two-part construct of empathy is the one that influenced the design of this study.

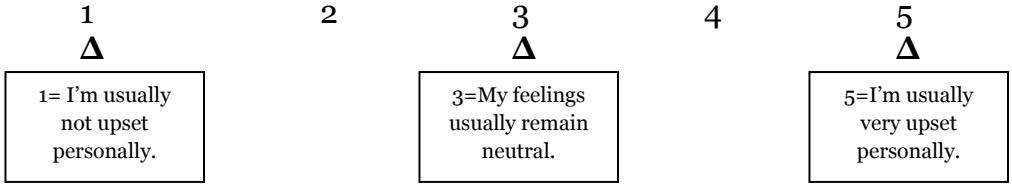
[99] Personal email communication, February 10, 2009. I have represented her questions to me here almost verbatim.

Capturing emotional response

Three survey questions asked about participants' emotional response. The first two, introduced early in the survey (see Appendix C), inquired about reactions to general scenarios. The last, asked toward the end of the survey (so as not to give away the purpose of the study as students completed the pre-test), asked participants directly about their emotional response to the topic of Japanese internment.

In Question 3, participants rated their level of emotional distress when responding to stories of injustice on a Likert scale, in which a "1" equaled the lowest level of distress and "5" the highest.

3. My typical emotional response to stories about injustice to others is: Circle one number.



As shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, the majority of participants, both before and after the presentation, indicated that learning about injustice typically will upset them on a personal level. The next largest group of participants noted that they are usually "very upset personally." The percentage of participants in both groups increased slightly after the presentation. Fewer than 5% of participants in the pre- and post-test characterized themselves as "somewhat upset" or "not usually

upset" personally by news of injustice. A small portion, which decreased slightly after the presentation, said that they maintain neutral feelings in the face of injustice.

Table 6.1: Frequency Distribution for Question 3, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	not usually upset personally	4	1.9	1.9	1.9
	somewhat upset personally	5	2.3	2.3	4.2
	feelings remain neutral	28	13.1	13.1	17.3
	upset personally	**132**	**61.7**	**61.7**	**79.0**
	very upset personally	45	21.0	21.0	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.2: Frequency Distribution for Question 3, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	not usually upset personally	4	1.9	1.9	1.9
	somewhat upset personally	6	2.8	2.8	4.7
	feelings remain neutral	19	8.9	8.9	13.6
	upset personally	**137**	**64.0**	**64.0**	**77.6**
	very upset personally	48	22.4	22.4	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

In Question 4, participants rated how they identified with a statement about their desire to fix an injustice on a similar scale, in which a response of "1" denoted a rejection of the description and a "5" a perfect fit.

4. Learning about an injustice usually makes me wish I could do something to fix it.
Circle one number.

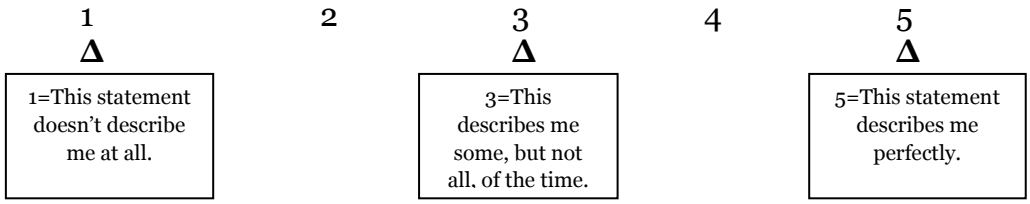


Table 6.3 and 6.4 show that participants' self-ratings were less concentrated for this question. Most of the sample spread out in approximately equal numbers between the answers "describes me some but not all of the time," "describes me much of the time," and "describes me perfectly." This is a group who feels compelled to help others in need, but to varying degrees. The modal response

shifted from “describes me some of the time” to “describes me much of the time” after the presentation.

Table 6.3: Frequency Distribution for Question 4, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	does not describe me at all	5	2.3	2.3	2.3
	does not describe me most of the time	3	1.4	1.4	3.7
	describes me some but not all	**71**	**33.2**	**33.2**	**36.9**
	describes me much of the time	70	32.7	32.7	69.6
	describes me perfectly	65	30.4	30.4	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

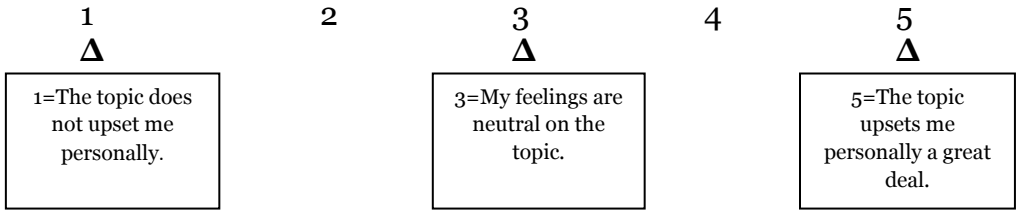
Table 6.4: Frequency Distribution for Question 4, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	does not describe me at all	6	2.8	2.8	2.8
	does not describe me most of the time	6	2.8	2.8	5.6
	describes me some but not all	58	27.1	27.1	32.7
	describes me much of the time	**82**	**38.3**	**38.3**	**71.0**
	describes me perfectly	62	29.0	29.0	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

Finally, participants were asked to rate their response to Japanese internment, using the same Likert scale used in Questions 3 and 4, in which a "1" equaled the lowest level of distress and a "5" the highest.

Survey Question 17

Thinking about the topic of Japanese internment during WWII has the following effect on my emotions:
Circle one number.



Both before and after the presentation, the highest percentage of participants indicated that the topic upsets them "a fair amount," as is clear from Tables 6.5 and 6.6. The percentage of students who claimed their feelings remained neutral dropped by ~14% percentage points after the presentation, and ~7% more participants identified their responses to the topic as "upsets me a great deal" after watching the presentation.

Table 6.5: Frequency Distribution for Question 17, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	does not upset me	13	6.1	6.1	6.1
	upsets me somewhat	6	2.8	2.8	8.9
	feelings neutral	58	27.1	27.2	36.2
	upsets me fair amt	**106**	**49.5**	**49.8**	**85.9**
	upsets me great deal	30	14.0	14.1	100.0
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

Table 6.6: Frequency Distribution for Question 17, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	does not upset me	6	2.8	2.8	2.8
	upsets me somewhat	5	2.3	2.4	5.2
	feelings neutral	30	14.0	14.2	19.3
	upsets me fair amt	**126**	**58.9**	**59.4**	**78.8**
	upsets me great deal	45	21.0	21.2	100.0
	Total	212	99.1	100.0	
	missing	2	.9		
Total		214	100.0		

Emotional Response Index

Reliability tests were performed to see if combining these questions into an index was feasible. For Questions 3, 4, and 17, the Cronbach's alpha for the pre-test and post-test variables were satisfactorily high (.782 and.842 respectively) and could

not be improved by deleting any element. I combined the three variables into a scale representing participants' emotional responsiveness, and named it the Emotional Response Index.

As Table 6.7 and Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show, both the pre- and post-test variables for the Emotional Response Index were skewed.

Table 6.7: Statistics for Emotional Response Index Variables

		emoresppre	emoresppost
N	Valid	214	214
	Missing	0	0
Skewness		-1.084	-1.280
Std. Error of Skewness		.166	.166

Figure 6.1: Frequency Distribution of Emotional Response Index Variable, Pre-test

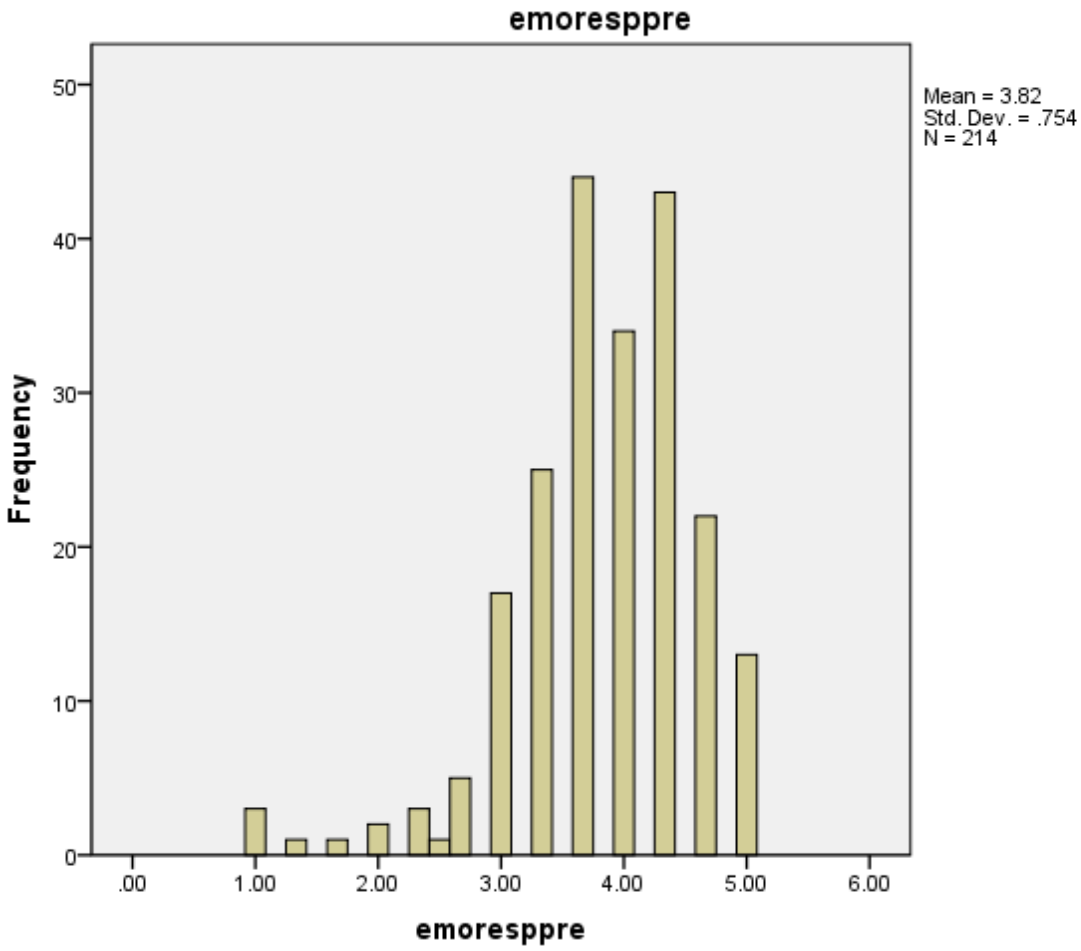
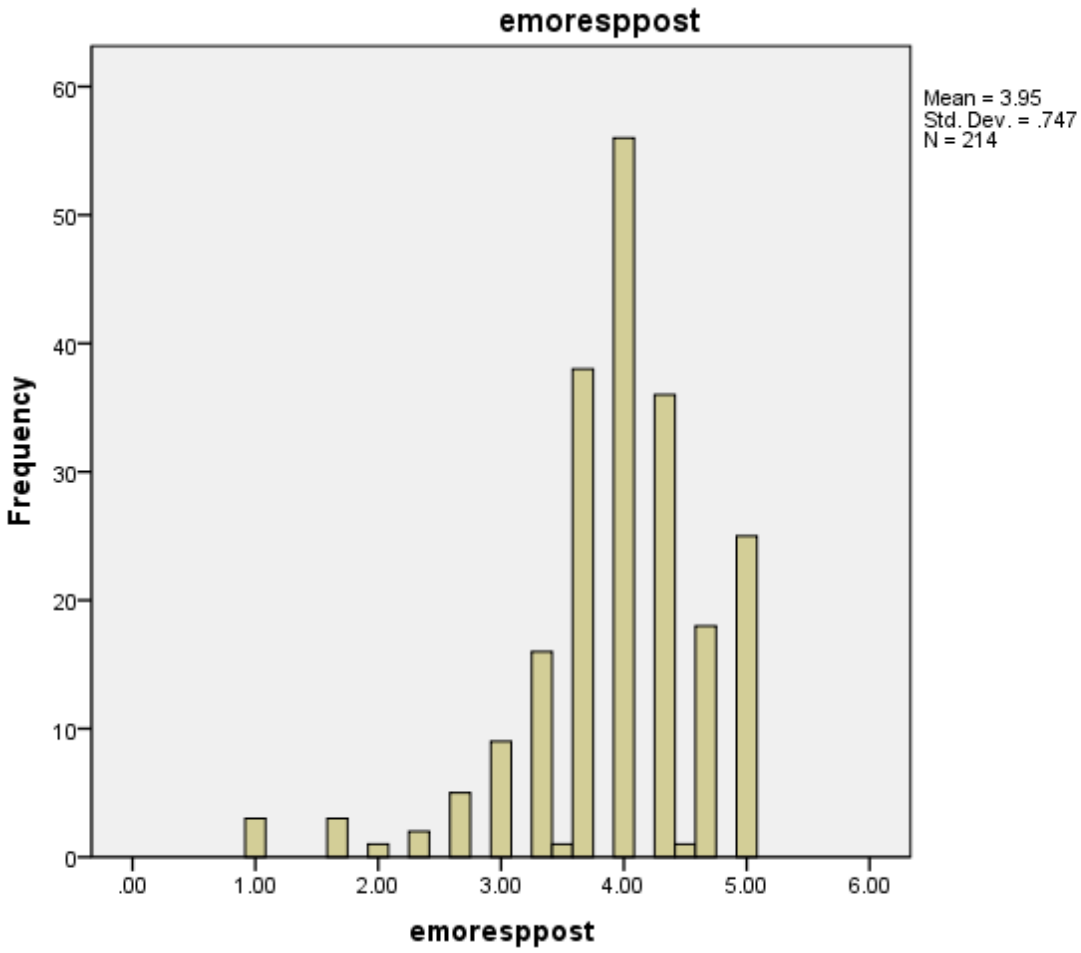


Figure 6.2: Frequency Distribution of Emotional Response Index Variable, Post-test



Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show that the variables needed "bottom-coding," that is, the skewness on the left-tail needed to be fixed. I transformed both variables so that cases with a value less than or equal to 3 were made equal to 2.75 (because the distribution is most uneven for cases with values lower than 3, thus causing the

distribution to skew to the left of that value, as seen in the graphs). As Table 6.8 and Figures 6.3 and 6.4 below indicate, this measure corrected the skewness and normalized the distribution.

Table 6.8: Statistics for Emotional Response Index Variables, After Bottom-Coding

		emorespretrans	emoresppostrans
N	Valid	214	214
	Missing	0	0
Skewness		-.219	-.297
Std. Error of Skewness		.166	.166

Figure 6.3: Frequency Distribution of Emotional Response Index Variable, Pre-Test, After Bottom-Coding

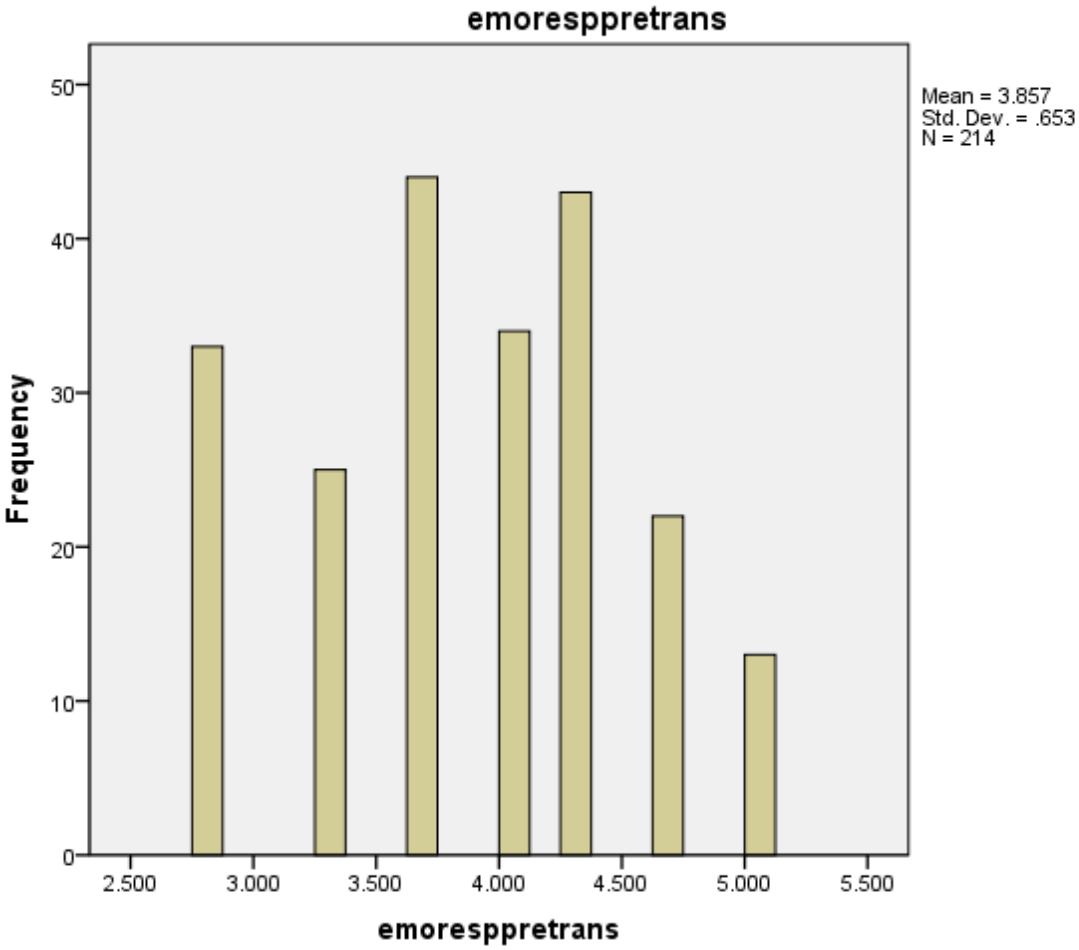
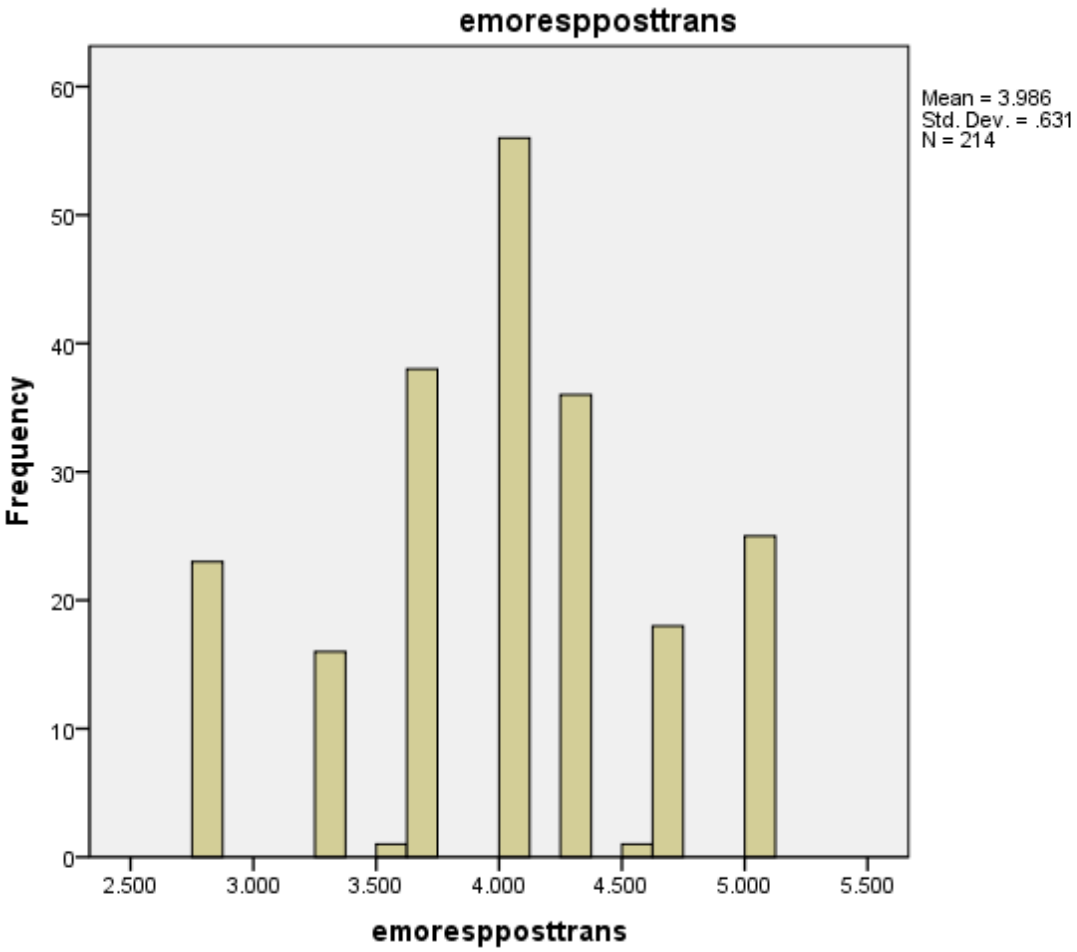


Figure 6.4: Frequency Distribution of Emotional Response Index Variable, Post-Test, After Bottom-Coding



With variables "repaired," I ran Ordinary Least Squares Regression with the pre-test variable, treatment group variable and other demographic variables in the model.

Table 6.9: Coefficients[a] for OLS Regression Model, Emotional Response and Independent Variables

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.735	.166		4.437	.000
	emorespprettrans	**.847**	**.039**	**.881**	**21.543**	**.000**
	VidGroup	.057	.061	.046	.936	.351
	WritGroup	.062	.065	.048	.952	.342
	racetrans	.001	.002	.036	.991	.323
	males	.032	.052	.025	.624	.533
	schooltrans	-.096	.072	-.054	-1.348	.179
	upperandlower	.020	.050	.016	.388	.698

a. Dependent Variable: emorespposttrans

As shown in Table 6.9, the B coefficient of .847 for the pre-test variable indicates that a 1-unit increase in pre-test emotional response variable corresponds to a .847-unit increase in the emotional response variable in the post-test. Because the B coefficient for the pre-test variable is positive but less than 1, participants who were low on the scale to begin with (i.e., less empathetic) showed more change in the post-test after viewing the presentation. Those who were fairly empathetic or very empathetic to begin with—according to the measures used in this study—had smaller incremental changes in the post-test, that is, those approaching the topic with a less-empathetic mindset had greater changes in their answers after the presentation than those who had a more empathetic mindset at the outset. Neither the participants' treatment group, race, gender,

school, nor class year influenced their post-test response in one direction or the other.

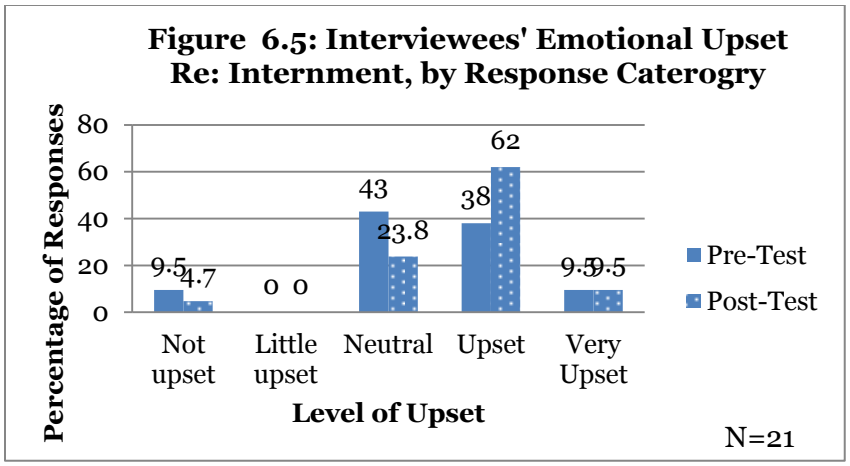
Interviewees' Responses to the Presentation

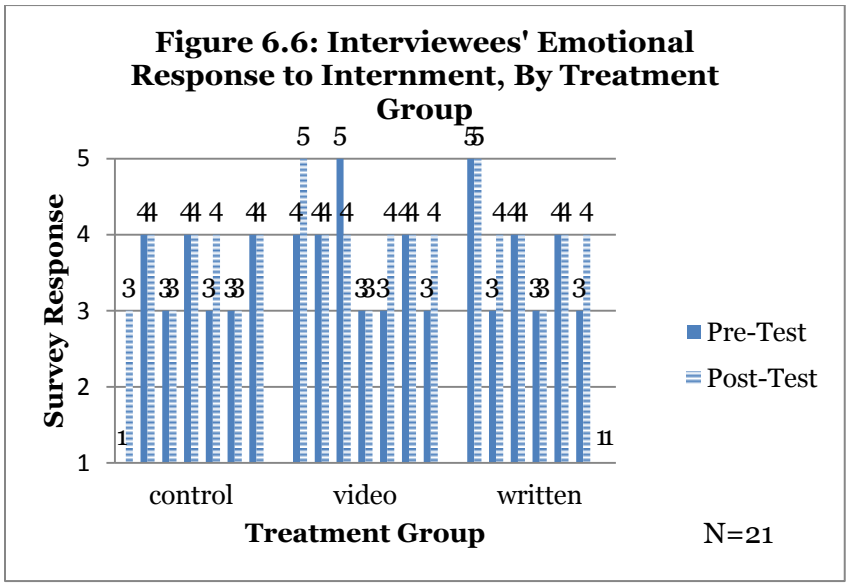
Emotional Reactions

As before, data collected from the interviews provide a closer look at respondents' emotional response to the topic of Japanese internment, and allow us to speculate how their peers in the larger sample may have reacted.

Table 6.10 shows how interview respondents answered Question 17 before and after the presentation. Of the eight "answer-switchers," all but Pradeep (Video Group) moved toward being more upset about the topic after the presentation. When asked about this change, he explained that he thought it was "probably because I imagined things that actually never happened…. [S]ince I didn't really know anything about it." Figures 6.5 and 6.6 illustrate how the respondents' pre- and post-test answers were distributed across question responses and treatment groups, respectively.

Table 6.10: Interviewee Responses to Question 17 (emotional response to internment)				
	Pre-Test	**Post-Test**	**Change?**	**Direction**
Control				
Evan	1	3	Yes	More upset
Marcel	4	4		
Jane	3	3		
Gary	4	4		
Anne	3	4	Yes	More upset
Ethel	3	3		
Donny	4	4		
Video				
Gina	4	5	Yes	More upset
Elle	4	4		
Pradeep	5	4	Yes	Less upset
Matt	3	3		
Liam	3	4	Yes	More upset
Dylan	4	4		
Bonnie	3	4	Yes	More upset
Written				
James	5	5		
Chris	3	4	Yes	More upset
Peter	4	4		
Scarlet	3	3		
Rina	4	4		
Crystal	3	4	Yes	More upset
Alan	1	1		





Survey Responses: 1=not upset; 2=little upset; 3=neutral; 4=upset; 5=upset a great deal

In addition to rating the effect of the topic of Japanese internment on their emotions in Question 17 of the survey, all interview respondents were asked directly about their emotional response to the presentation (and for those in the Video and Written Groups, their response to the testimonies). I asked some,

especially those who changed their answer from pre- to post-test, about their response to Question 17. Speaking with me about a variety of issues throughout the interview also provided data about their emotions with regard to Japanese internment and this presentation.

Surprising reactions

Four respondents mentioned the emotional affect of the Japanese internees when asked about their own emotional response. Donny, a member of the Control Group who did *not* watch or read any testimonies, first understood my question about his response to be asking about internees' emotions, and said, "I mostly saw confusion…I didn't see a lot of anger until they were actually in the camps." I am uncertain of where he would have deduced this "anger," but perhaps he was responding to the part of my narrative that discussed court cases involving Japanese who challenged the constitutionality of internment.

Scarlet (Written Group) acknowledged that she felt "really sad" and described Frank F.'s testimony and (possibly alluding to Harvey's testimony) mentioned looted property. When asked specifically about the testimonies, she said:

> …some of them seemed to be kind of hostile towards the situation, I can remember, like I don't know exactly which one or anything, but I can just remember kind of feeling like, 'alright well, they're not very pleased with this.' And then I felt like some of them were just more just sad, not so much angry, but just generally sad.

Peter, a member of the Written Group who is originally from Seattle said, "I know a little bit about the [Japanese] community [there]." He described the testimonies as "fairly effecting" and said they were:

> almost surreal, because they are just totally normal people that are trying to, in a way…rationalize what happened….' He continued, 'Like they were trying to say, 'Well…', they were trying to fit it within how that would've been possible, you know, they tried to make the best of it, but I'm sure if you were to ask them about their true feelings about the case, then, they would have had some fairly strong opinions and that was kind of sad in a way.

His response surprised me somewhat, especially given testifiers such as Mas, who admitted that his time in Camp Harmony was "real traumatic type of living," or Frank Y., who commented, "It was terrible." I asked Peter, "In what way were they rationalizing to make it seem acceptable?" He explained:

> Not really rationalizing, but they were asked to tell the stories, they were asked to tell how they went from one life to another and in the course of doing that, it just seemed like they um, it seems more natural when you tell it as a story but they didn't really have time to talk about their mindset as they were going through that, to sort of tell the physical aspects of what went on.

While Peter's reaction was unexpected, his explanation convinced me that more in-depth testimonies in which survivors discussed their experiences and feelings could forestall such an impression in the future. He also shared that he felt upset by the newsreel, which was the first issue he discussed when asked about his emotional reaction. In particular, he discussed the government's deceptive efforts to "put a nice face on a practice that…they were doing on the fly, in a way." They "made it seem…like it was within the law, and it wasn't going to affect people…."

He felt upset because he believes that behavior still occurs with the government today, yet could not name any specific example.

Dylan's reaction to the presentation, which included the video testimonies, shocked me on two fronts. First, as discussed in Chapter 4, she had acknowledged the news reel as "propaganda," but then derived her understanding of the camp conditions from it and said "it didn't seem as bad as I thought it was…." On Question 17, she rated her emotional response to internment at 4, "personally upset," both before and after the presentation. Yet when asked directly about her response, she began by explaining that, "When I was watching it, I felt more like I was being informed rather than emotionally moved," though she admitted that, "obviously, it was emotionally moving, to some extent…." When I asked her to explain, she described a set of expectations that were not met by my presentation. She said:

> Yeah, I think a lot of the documentaries I've seen about horrific incidences have just had more of a shocking value, so like if you were, you know, watching something about Vietnam and you saw the girl running with, you know, her--
>
> Susan: Skin falling off, right.
>
> Dylan: I mean that obvi—you know, but just yeah like the, the, I mean, I don't even really remember any of the photos, so I guess that kind of says something, but I didn't um, it, I don't know, it just didn't, like, it just didn't move me as much as I expected it to. 'Cause I, 'cause I know that thinking about it in the past, I've, I mean I've thought, you know, how horrible, but I didn't, for some—I dunno, for some reason, I just had these expectations….

She went on to discuss her impression of camp life, which I clarified came from the War Authority's newsreel, and said "it didn't seem as traumatic as I expected it to seem."[100]

Like Donny, Scarlet, and Peter, Dylan expressed an evaluation of the internees' emotional affect when I asked her about the testimonies. She said:

> But even in the interviews, no one really like, I mean, other than the guy that like pretty much broke down while he was talking about his dad, I mean none of the other, the other participants were speaking pretty matter-of-factly, I thought. And, the way they were describing it, or the way I remember them describing it, was just that it was just a small portion of their life, it didn't seem as traumatic as I was expecting it to seem.
>
> Susan: So like the consequences of what happened?
>
> Dylan: Yeah, yeah. I mean, maybe if there were, maybe if there was more of a focus on their life after, I mean I thought when they showed their homes you know ransacked with graffiti and everything, I mean I thought those were pretty powerful images, I think maybe more of that would've done something.

Evan (Control Group) was fond of using comparative references to frame his opinions of America's treatment of the Japanese. On Question 17, he moved two notches on the scale from pre- to post-test from expressing no emotional response (and as he describes below, an apathetic attitude) to a neutral response, explaining:

> I mean, no one died.[101] So you know, I don't get upset about things in general but…it was a bad situation, certainly…. People weren't

[100] I discuss her impression of camp life in Chapter 4.
[101] As discussed in Chapter 4, his assertion is false. More than 1,800, or approximately 1.5% of the 120,000+ Japanese interned, died while detained.

> just getting mass murdered, there were no shooting squads, so before yeah, I was just kind of, a blip in history, after seeing, it was a good presentation, um, you know I certainly, I could empathize with them to a greater degree, I certainly, you know, this is completely unfair, so yeah I certainly could empathize more but at the same time, bad things happen and that's just history.

Again, the images and testimonies that I had imagined as powerful did not impress upon my respondents the severity of suffering imposed upon the Japanese. No one mentioned the photos I selected to portray dehumanization (e.g., Japanese tagged like merchandise in a store), or an elegant yet frail elderly woman recounting a guard asking her if she was a human being (as opposed to a gorilla). Donny, Peter and Dylan responded to what they perceived to be as a lack of emotion among the internees, and Peter, Dylan and Evan seem to need more proof of suffering. Although I will discuss perspective-taking in more detail later in this chapter, Peter's comment when I asked him about perspective-taking in his interview is relevant here, because he again spoke about the survivors specifically. Both before and after the presentation, he chose a low score (2) on the scale indicating a weak ability to imagine the emotions and experiences on the internees. His explanation indicates that he felt their recollections had been mediated through time and exposure to the stories of others:

> Peter: These were things, I hadn't seen a whole lot of images, like I've read a little bit and I've read especially what people write about the experience afterwards, and by then they've had a time to sort of collect their thoughts and they had…time to gather information about other people's cases and things going on outside their own situation so I think just at the time, I couldn't really imagine it, because that's something that's beyond sort of whatever you can read in a book, you know.

> Susan: So because their stories are looking back after so many decades…
>
> Peter: Yeah, they've been framed in a way.
>
> Susan: So, by sort of a logical step then, from that statement, do you think if say I had some footage, like the newsreel, say I had some footage of someone at that time, of someone in the camp, a roving reporter went around and talked to an internee at that time, would that help you imagine what it was like…rather than hearing an elderly person talk about…60 years later?
>
> Peter: Probably…if I saw that happening, or if I was in the room with the person, I might get a better sense, but someone documenting in the camps at the time also would be helpful, not so much the newsreel, because that's been even like even more processed and even more framed obviously, but I guess I answered that thinking that I don't want to presume to know of the experience of these people.

Ethel (Control Group) had quite a different set of emotional reactions, among them, one that was also unforeseen. As Table 6.10 above shows, she rated her level of upset about Japanese internment a 3, "neutral," both before and after the presentation. When asked directly about her response to the presentation, she moved from an attitude she described as "Oh this is just history and that's the way it goes" to feeling "a bit more sympathy." As discussed in Chapter 4, she noted at this time how the "slideshow" and the photos of the Japanese shops made internment real and tangible to her, much as the exhibit of shoes at the Holocaust museum inspired the same awareness. She did say that her level of upset was tempered by her lack of exposure to the topic in general, as compared to the more thorough education she has received on the Holocaust. She also described a feeling of betrayal aroused by the newsreel ("I felt lied to."). Her

comments up to this point did not reveal any striking resonance with the material.

To my surprise, Ethel began to cry when asked about experiences in her past or present life or in her family's history that might have influenced her opinions relevant to this study topic. At first, she described herself as a "very traditional Korean" in the sense of "work hard, do your best, just stick to your own thing, don't pay attention or business to any other matters." I then prompted her by asking about a topic she alluded to earlier in the discussion, by saying, "And then you said something about entrepreneurship, the small businesses, kind of rings true for you. Can you talk about that a little bit?" This probe led first to discuss her father, who owns a deli, and his various jobs upon settling in America. ("He's done odd jobs all around New York City, like from peddler to like, you name it, like, he's done everything.") She then pinpointed the locus of her sadness:

> I guess like just the struggles my family has gone through, like it hits home, like the small entrepreneurship. And like, of course, Koreans are stereotyped as like nail salons, delis so like, of course, I get emotional about when I think of like the hardships my parents went through just to like raise a family and stuff like that. So it definitely hits hard.

Noticing a respondent in pain immediately set off my internal alarm and I asked her if she wanted to stop, and tried to be as comforting as possible.[102] In the

[102] Incidentally, my efforts to ensure that she knew of external resources for support "to check in with" (such as counseling and international student groups) led to a discussion of her negative experience with the Korean Student Association, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

following exchange, she explained how our discussion was in a way, cathartic for her:

> Ethel: No I actually like talking about it because I never do talk about it so like it's actually surprising to me sometimes what I think or say, so that's fine…. Just like because –I mean besides like the race issue and stuff like that, it just like, to think about how, like, how my parents had to come over here. Like you know those typical, sort of, like 'I had eight dollars in my pocket--.'
>
> Susan: Sure, sure. There's a reason why you hear about it a lot.
>
> Ethel: You hear it a lot so—just to think like how courageous my parents are coming here and like—like that's why I like—honestly, I work hard and I guess I'm obedient in that way because of them. I want to make them proud and I guess that's another typical Asian characteristic like because my parents always say like, 'Your children are a reflection of your parents' or, 'You'd better like when you're out there present yourself a certain way (I don't know) like be respectful.' So like in that way I always like constantly have them in the back of my mind in whatever I do….

This led to a question about siblings, and ended with a comment about her responsibility as the oldest child of an oldest child to be responsible for looking out for the welfare of younger cousins. She reflected, "So like, that way, I guess like, I've been influenced in like what I think. Even like seeing relationships here I'm like, 'No they shouldn't be doing that.' You know? I'm very traditional."

My experience with Ethel came to mind upon encountering Dutro's (2008) reflexive essay. Although she is writing of students' interactions with literature, her experience—and advice—are worth noting here. Working as a literacy teacher with young children, she found that discussions about stories, often innocuous in

content, led to students sharing stories of their own about personal traumas that the reading brought to the surface. (For example, a story about two brothers moved a young boy to share the death of his baby brother.) Dutro (2008) argues that these reactions—and Ethel's would be among them—lie beyond empathy:

> A seat left empty by a fleeing child, silent tears on a cheek, stories voiced in class discussions, stories written in construction paper journals—they all testify, they all reveal. But, they testify to much more than empathy for what was encountered on the page. The sharing of a difficult story in response to any text testifies to the reader's own experiences and signals a reader's need for witnesses. Just as with testimony on the page, the reader's testimony, revealed publicly off the page, intimately involves its witnesses, its listeners. (428)

Dutro (2008:428), who as a teenager lost her little brother in a tragic accident, understands this feedback loop as a "circle of witness and testimony" and encourages educators to share with students in return. Had I this principle in mind and my encounter with Ethel been in a classroom setting, I might have taken this opportunity to share details from my own background. Given the research setting, I opted to comfort her as best as I could right then, ensure that continuing with the interview would not cause her pain, and then follow up after the interview. I sent her information about how to reach counseling services should she want to process her feelings, and designed a flyer that I gave to all subsequent respondents at the end of their interviews regardless of their response to our discussion. (see Appendix L).

Control Groups' Emotional Response

Discussions with respondents from the Control Group, even though their presentation did not include any survivor testimonies, lent valuable insight into the nature of emotional responses to lessons about difficult chapters in history. I discussed the responses of Donny and Ethel above. Evan contextualized internment within domestic conditions after the Pearl Harbor attack and other brutal regimes in history, to temper his initial reaction ("I was kind of outraged") but in a way that minimized internees' suffering. He said, "I tried to kind of quantify [sic] that in terms of what was going on in the air." At other points, he expressed support for, and cynicism about, the government.

Marcel attributed his emotional response to the presentation to seeing victims of the same race. He became reflective, wondering if he would have had the same reaction if the victims were of another race, spoke about his fear of another mass internment in America, and the need to sometimes consider the safety of the group versus the rights of the individual. He also credited his emotional reaction for moving up a notch on Question 4: "Not really anger, but I don't know, just *really,* like, did this really happen? …[I]t **makes** me want to do something…."

Jane thought internment was disturbing ("just that the fact that humans were being treated poorly"). I had asked her about an answer switch on Question 3, her

typical emotional response to stories of injustice, in which she moved from a 4, "upset personally" to 2, "somewhat upset." She explained:

> I feel like that the right answer be that you should be affected by these, but then I realized where something I dunno, didn't happen to me, and it's not really directly affecting my life, as much as I could see it as the, you know, the US government doing something wrong, I wouldn't say, that, I forget how it's worded, but I'm emotionally, I'm not very, I might be upset for an instant, you know, when I'm watching it, but it's not going like to change my everyday life.

Her answer reflects her experience of social pressure to be politically correct, and her desire to be honest that her own emotional response is limited because she has no personal stake in the matter. This response is similar to Alan's (Written Group) speculation about why Americans allowed internment to happen (a subject discussed below): "we weren't going to revolt on something that wasn't about us. It was about other parts."[103] I am also reminded of Liam's (Video Group) comment that he could identify the Japanese experience as "horrible," and "could understand what they went through," though said he did not feel those emotions himself.

Like Gina (Video Group) and Peter (Written Group) discussed below, the newsreel featured in Gary's response. The emotional reaction to the presentation was rooted in the juxtaposition I created between the substance of the government's message and the facts about the lived experience of Japanese inside

[103] Of course by "other parts," Alan is speaking about non-Japanese Americans, but his comment suggests that he does not see the Japanese, even those with US citizenship, as part of "us."

the camps. “It annoyed me, it frustrated me. I don’t like when I see things like that happening.”

Anne felt embarrassed by her own lack of knowledge of internment. She also commented on American hypocrisy. “We condemn a lot of other countries that imprison, or do that to other people, like the Holocaust and everything, but in turn we just did it to thousands and thousands of people.” Her emotional response to the plight of the Japanese and their obvious innocence caused her to shift her answers on the survey questions about citizens’ rights in peace and war (see Questions 11 and 12 in the survey, Appendix C). “I just could not help but feel bad for the Japanese people. There’s nothing they could have done wrong, they’re completely the victims…it was hard for me to see the other side of that.”

Video Groups’ Emotional Response

Of the respondents who were exposed to video testimonies, six cited the testimonies in their comments about their emotional response. When speaking generally about her emotional response to the presentation, Gina (Video Group) first spoke about the newsreel, which evoked both patriotism and shame in her. With a bit of a laugh, she was able to recognize that her discomfort with internment came in part because of its occurrence on America soil. “It was kind of, 'go get 'em,' over *there*, but here…here, we should work on human rights.”

Like some other respondents, she talked about America in the past and the present in this context:

> our country kind of took an entire population [you can hear her laugh/smile wryly here] and just kind of *put 'em somewhere*, and I just think that is really ridiculous and it's kinda like, you think that we're really progressive and that we've done so much but it's…we haven't. We really haven't gotten past a lot of the human rights issues.

The testimonies were salient to Gina. She connected with Frank F.'s testimony because of her own relationship to her father, and discussed the loss of Japanese homes/businesses, which she can relate to because she is very involved in her family's small business back in New York. On the survey, she moved from a 4, "upset" to 5, "upsets me personally a great deal" and attributed the shift to the testimonies. She added, "I think that got to me a lot….. [T]he dad thing really got to me, the business thing, like the whole idea of, I put myself in that situation and I think that the personal accounts really changed me in that situation."

Elle pondered whether or not "we've learned from our mistakes as a country and whether or not situations would be similar [today]." While she did not name the survivors specifically, she referenced Frank Y.'s and Harvey's testimonies, and scenes from the newsreel ("I remember families getting on those buses and taking off and I felt very saddened by it"). While her survey response to Question 17 (emotional upset about Japanese internment) remained neutral and stable from pre- to post-test, she did, as discussed in Chapter 5, change her answer on

Question 9 pertaining to racial profiling from “agree” to “it depends” after the presentation, and credited this shift to her emotional response. When asked about entitlements for people detained by the government but later found innocent, she moved from disagreeing to agreeing that financial compensation should be offered. She explained, “I think the reason why I probably agreed with that is because I saw their lives were ruined {kind of laughs} after they came back and how a lot of people didn't have anything, and so, you know, after seeing that, I was probably like, well yeah, it's necessary, {laughs} like, you need to give people their lives back or allow them a way to survive….” Similarly, she moved from “it depends” to “agree” on non-financial assistance of some kind for a wrongly detained person. Of this switch, she said, “Same thing and definitely um in the case of the Japanese, like after going through a horrific ordeal like that, you may need some sort of support outside of financial support.”

Pradeep (Video Group) said he was “a little shocked” because he did not “really know how much they actually did” to the Japanese (yet as discussed, he expressed less upset about internment in the post-test survey, which he believed was due to envisioning events that did not take place).

Matt’s response to Question 17 remained at a 3, “neutral,” in the pre- and post-test, but he indicated that “a lot of times when I see them recall those things from the past, I just, it makes me kind of reflect on myself and what I might have done

or felt like I guess." He had recalled Frank F's testimony at an earlier point in the interview, so I asked him why he thought he remembered that one. While he did not remember clearly if the testimony featured a boy or girl, he knew that the story was about a father not remembering a child and imagined how he would have felt in that situation.

Liam's answer moved up from 3, "neutral" to 4, "upset personally" on Question 17 and when asked about this switch, he said he felt more upset and that "it definitely calls into question some of the practices of the government" and "that the rights of the people could be trampled on so easily." When asked generally about his emotional response, he painted a different picture. While he felt empathy, he had a hard time relating to the survivors since they were recalling events so long ago. "My parents weren't even alive when that was happening so it's kind of a ways away from me, so it's tough for me to really connect," he explained, though he acceded that "it certainly sounded like a horrible, horrible time…their businesses got ruined and their whole families were kind of separated."[104]

Like other students, Bonnie was moved by Frank F.'s testimony, and referenced her relationship with her own father and said, "I could never imagine him like not recognizing me…that's probably the most emotional I got during that." When

[104] As mentioned in Chapter 4, he seems to be alluding to Frank Y.'s and Frank F.'s testimonies, but it is not clear. Elle's response is similar, but she had said, "when they were talking about" so I deduced that she was referring to their testimonies.

asked about her answer-switch on Question 17 from 3, “neutral,” to 4, “upsets me personally,” she said, “actually seeing the emotions…I’m like a very emotional person and I can relate very well to people with their emotions….”

Written Group’s Emotional Response

Of the respondents exposed to the written testimonies of internment survivors, five discussed the testimonies.

Jon, who hails from a multi-ethnic, multinational family, felt ashamed for “humans in general” but otherwise did not remember much about the testimonies he read.

For Chris, the plight of the Japanese caused a shift in his emotional response.

> Well, I think you, you hear of it, and the first thing I think of is ‘oh, we were just trying to protect our nation, we just got attacked by Japan, like we're scared,’ but, when you see like this family has a business and they work like, 15 hours a day and then like all of sudden it gets destroyed, you're kind of like, this family clearly had nothing to do with it, like you're going to go to [those] extremes?[105] Something like that sort of makes you get a little more emotional about it, I guess.

As discussed previously in this chapter, Peter discussed the newsreel and the survivors’ emotional affect when asked about his emotions during the presentation.

[105] The reference to “15 hours a day” is his own embellishment…this level of detail is not provided in my presentation narrative nor in any of the survivors’ testimonies.

Scarlet described her emotions during the presentation as "really sad," and discussed property damage and loss, mentioning that in particular, those images remained with her when she thought about the study. As already mentioned, when asked directly about her emotions concerning the testimonies, she too described the survivors' emotional affect.

Rina (Written Group), who described witness testimonies generally as "chilling," expressed surprise because, like Pradeep, she had not been educated about the Japanese internment experience before. She referenced Frank F. testimony in a vague way—"I wanna say there was one with a younger child and like that, and thinking of myself in that situation definitely made me very like sad and surprised." When I asked if this was because of the age of the person (given that she had said "younger child" specifically), she said, "yeah." She said personal testimonies allow you to "put yourself in that mindset and like, kind of think of what they're feeling and stuff like that."

When asked for her recollections of the presentation, Crystal could remember little about the content but said, "I remember feeling bad about Japan. I remember feeling really bad."[106] Later she said she gets very emotional about history ("stuff like, always hits me pretty hard") and credited that to her tendency to perspective-take. She had not learned about internment before and expressed

[106] As discussed in Chapter 4, she did recall detailed information about the structure of the presentation and her participation.

shock over the topic. When asked if there were parts of the presentation that were more intense than others for her, she verified that the testimonies “are what really did it” for her because of their ability to personalize the experience: “it's the difference of hearing a mass, like about a mass group of people and what happened to them and then hearing one person's actual experience, it always hits a little harder.” Like Rina, she had also remembered a testimony about a young child because she has a younger sister (“that’s what hit the button for me”), but did not describe anything else about the story.

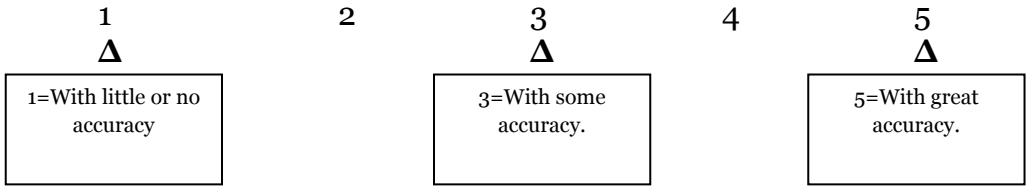
Alan “definitely felt bad for the people who lost everything” but defended America’s action as necessary.

Measuring Perspective Taking

Two of the survey questions were designed to measure participants’ ability to take the perspective of the camp internees.

The first, Question 15, invited participants to rate their ability to imagine the experiences of the Japanese.

Survey Question 15
I think I can imagine the <u>experiences</u> of the Japanese people in the internment camps.
Circle one number.



As is shown in Tables 6.11 and 6.12, the modal response moved from 2, "with a small amount of accuracy" in the pre-test, to 3, "with some accuracy," in the post-test. The percentage of those who thought they could imagine internees' experiences "with a fair amount of accuracy" increased by over 20% after the presentation, and those who believe they can do so "with a great amount of accuracy" increased by 3.2%.

Table 6.11: Frequency Distribution for Question 15, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	little/no accuracy	63	29.4	29.6	29.6
	small amt accuracy	**73**	**34.1**	**34.3**	**63.8**
	some accuracy	65	30.4	30.5	94.4
	fair amt accuracy	11	5.1	5.2	99.5
	great accuracy	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

Table 6.12: Frequency Distribution for Question 15, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	little/no accuracy	19	8.9	8.9	8.9
	small amt accuracy	41	19.2	19.2	28.0
	some accuracy	**88**	**41.1**	**41.1**	**69.2**
	fair amt accuracy	58	27.1	27.1	96.3
	great accuracy	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

The very next question on the survey asked participants to estimate their ability to imagine the emotions of the Japanese on an identical scale.

Survey Question 16

I think I can imagine the <u>emotions</u> of the Japanese people in the internment camps.

Circle one number.

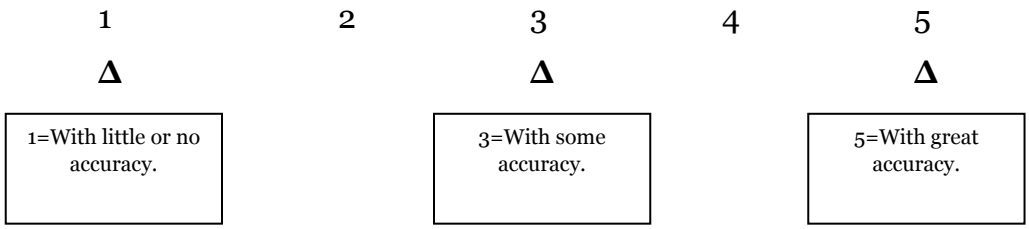


Table 6.13: Frequency Distribution for Question 16, Pre-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	little/no accuracy	49	22.9	23.0	23.0
	small amt accuracy	57	26.6	26.8	49.8
	some accuracy	**79**	**36.9**	**37.1**	**86.9**
	fair amt accuracy	25	11.7	11.7	98.6
	great accuracy	3	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	213	99.5	100.0	
	missing	1	.5		
Total		214	100.0		

Table 6.14: Frequency Distribution for Question 16, Post-test

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	little/no accuracy	18	8.4	8.4	8.4
	small amt accuracy	43	20.1	20.1	28.5
	some accuracy	**80**	**37.4**	**37.4**	**65.9**
	fair amt accuracy	65	30.4	30.4	96.3
	great accuracy	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	214	100.0	100.0	

As seen in Tables 6.13 and 6.14, the greatest number of participants believed they could imagine the emotions of the Japanese inside the camps "with some accuracy" both before and after the presentation and the percentage increased only slightly in the post-test. Almost 20% more students felt they could imagine their emotions "with a fair amount of accuracy," after the presentation, and the percentage of those who believed they could imagine "with little or no accuracy" fell by ~14%. There remained few students who believed they could imagine internees' emotions "with great accuracy" even after the participants viewed the presentation, but perhaps a person who is in fact highly empathetic would be averse to this kind of self-label.

As before, I performed a reliability test to determine if an index with conceptually similar questions (in this case, Questions 15 and 16) was feasible.[107] The test

[107] Because Question 5, which asked about affixing blame to a person or group who is wronged, seemed similar, I included it in the reliability test, but the results indicated that the question should be removed from the model.

revealed high Cronbach's alpha values for Question 15 and 16 only (.792 for the pre-test variables and .899 for post-test variables), so I combined them into an index I called the Perspective-Taking Index.

A frequency report and skewness test indicated that the distributions of the scale variables for these two questions are normally distributed:

Table 6.15: Statistics for Perspective-Taking Index

		perstakindbefore	perstakindafter
N	Valid	213	214
	Missing	1	0
Skewness		.170	-.262
Std. Error of Skewness		.167	.166

An Ordinary Least Squares Regression was run on the Perspective-Taking Index variables, and the results are displayed in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Coefficients[a] for OLS Regression for Perspective Taking and Independent Variables

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.360	.214		6.348	.000
	perstakindbefore	**.699**	**.056**	**.653**	**12.388**	**.000**
	VidGroup	.203	.134	.106	1.514	.132
	WritGroup	.127	.142	.065	.894	.373
	racetrans	.004	.003	.067	1.270	.205
	males	-.089	.106	-.045	-.842	.401
	schooltrans	-.079	.153	-.029	-.518	.605
	upperandlower	.027	.110	.014	.247	.805

a. Dependent Variable: perstakindafter

The participants' responses on the perspective-taking questions in the pre-test correspond positively with their responses on the same questions in the post-test. For every one unit increase in the perspective-taking questions in the pre-test, their scores on these questions in the post-test increased by .699 units (nearly 70% of one unit, almost ¾ of a unit). Because the B coefficient of the pre-test perspective-taking index variable is positive but less than 1, the differences in the before/after responses were not as great for those responders who answered higher on the Likert scale in the pre-test. In other words, responders who believed they could accurately imagine the experiences and emotions of the Japanese interned in the camps before the presentation had smaller post-presentation changes in their responses. If they felt capable of taking perspective before the presentation, they were likely to after the presentation as well, and

their post-test answers stayed closer to their pre-test answers than those who scored lower originally. The post-test change was greater for those who had little faith in their ability to imagine the experiences of the Japanese, so we can conclude that the presentation had a greater influence on those participants. (See Table 6.17 below.)

Table 6.17: Perspective-Taking Before the Presentation versus After the Presentation		
Participants less confident in their perspective-taking abilities	→	More dramatic increases in self-assessment
Participants more confident in their perspective-taking abilities	→	Self-assessment stayed more or the less the same

As with the Emotional Response Index, neither the treatment group nor any of the participants' demographic characteristics were influential in the participants' ability to take the perspective of others in the post-survey.

Evidence of Perspective Taking Among Interviewees

The in-depth interviews provided an opportunity to gain more insight about participants' ability to imagine the experience and emotional repercussions of internment. Table 6.18 illustrates how respondents answered Question 15 about internees' experiences inside the camps. There were thirteen answer-switching respondents for Question 15, all but one of whom moved in the direction of being able to imagine the experiences of the internees with greater accuracy in the post-test. The lone respondent (Ethel, Control Group) who moved in the opposite

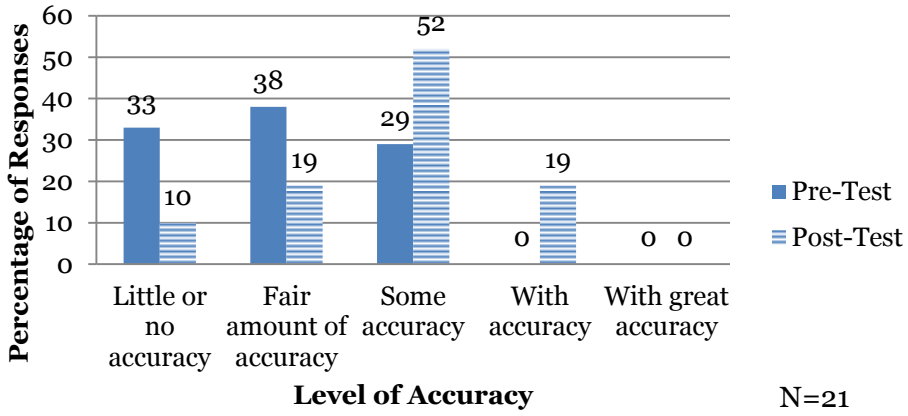
direction, said, “I think that doesn’t make sense, because, like, I sort of related to it when seeing the small stores and stuff like that. Maybe I misdid [sic] the survey” though she added, “like I said, I’m very apathetic to things and I just try to get over it and just move on.”

Table 6.18: Interviewees' Responses to Question 15: "I think I can imagine the experiences of the Japanese people in the internment camps."

	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Change?	Direction
Control				
Evan	3	3		
Marcel	1	2	Yes	More accuracy
Jane	1	3	Yes	More accuracy
Gary	2	2		
Anne	2	4	Yes	More accuracy
Ethel	2	1		Less accuracy
Donny	1	3		More accuracy
Video				
Gina	1	3	Yes	More accuracy
Elle	2	4	Yes	More accuracy
Pradeep	2	3	Yes	More accuracy
Matt	3	3		
Liam	1	3	Yes	More accuracy
Dylan	3	3		
Bonnie	1	3	Yes	Moe accuracy
Written				
James	2	2		
Chris	2	3 (erased 2)	Yes	More accuracy
Peter	2	2		
Scarlet	3	3		
Rina	3	4	Yes	More accuracy
Crystal	3	4	Yes	More accuracy
Alan	1	1		

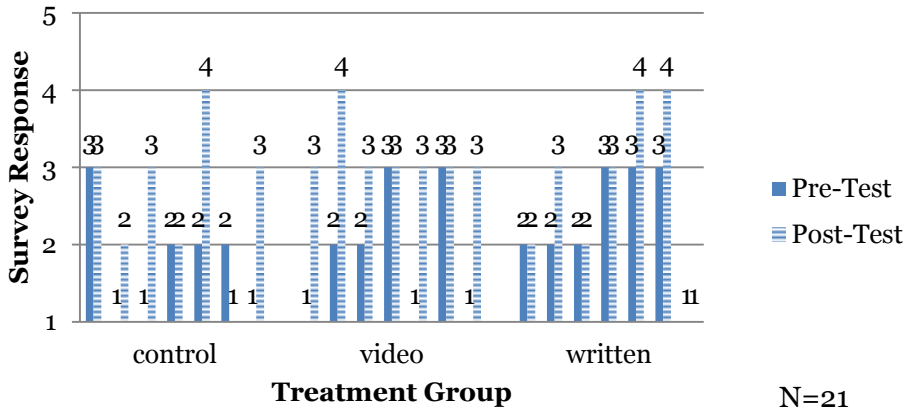
Figures 6.7 and 6.8 below depict how respondents answered Question 15 about internees' experiences inside the camps, by response category and treatment group, respectively. Clearly, the presentation helped the respondents gain some understanding of the internees' experiences inside the camps. The Video Group had the greatest net positive change.

Figure 6.7: Interviewees' Self-Assessed Ability to Imagine Internees' Experiences, By Response Catergory



N=21

Figure 6.8: Interviewees' Self-Assessed Ability to Imagine Internees' Experiences, By Treatment Group



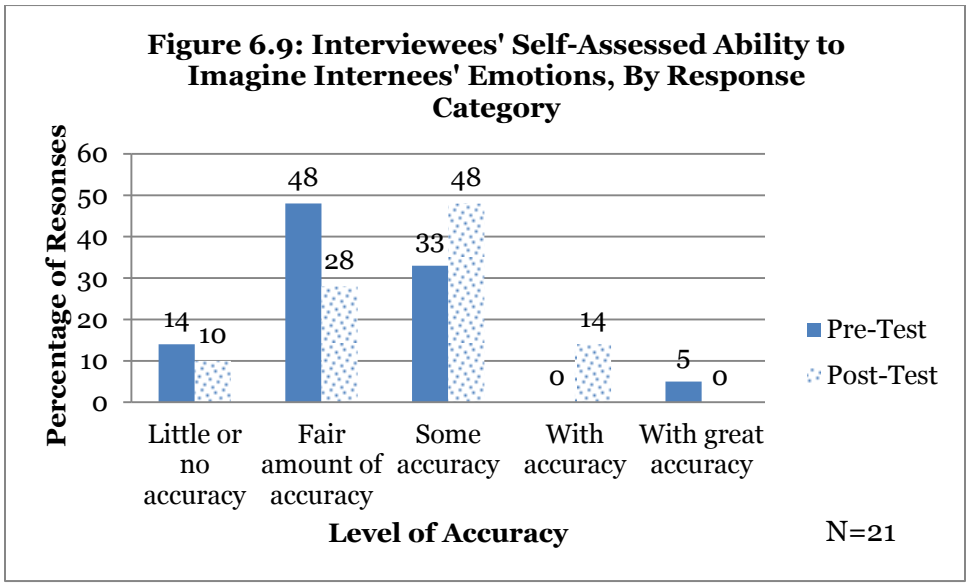
N=21

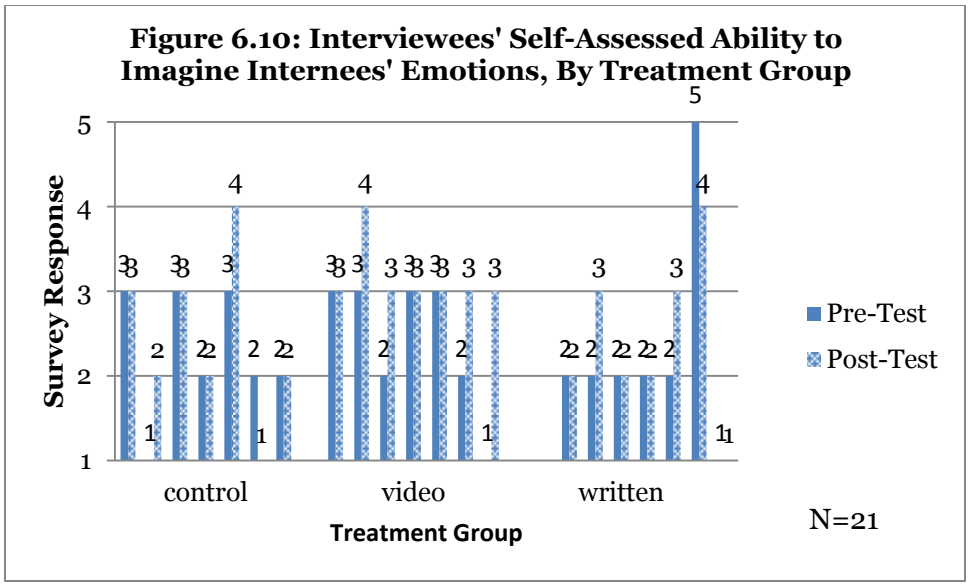
Table 6.19 illustrates how respondents answered Question 16 about internees' emotions during internment. Ten respondents changed their answers from pre- to post-test for this question.

Table 6.19: Interviewees' Responses to Question 16: "I think I can imagine the <u>emotions</u> of the Japanese people in the internment camps."				
	Pre-Test	**Post-Test**	**Change?**	**Direction**
Control				
Evan	3	3		
Marcel	1	2	Yes	More accuracy
Jane	3	3		
Gary	2	2		
Anne	3 (crossed out 2)	4	Yes	More accuracy
Ethel	2 (crossed out 1)	1		Less accuracy
Donny	2	2		
Video				
Gina	3	3		
Elle	3	4	Yes	More accuracy
Pradeep	2	3	Yes	More accuracy
Matt	3	3		
Liam	3	3		
Dylan	2	3	Yes	More accuracy
Bonnie	1	3	Yes	More accuracy
Written				
James	2	2		
Chris	2	3	Yes	More accuracy
Peter	2	2		
Scarlet	2	2		
Rina	2	3	Yes	More accuracy
Crystal	5	4	Yes	Less accuracy
Alan	1	1		

Eight of these moved in the direction of being better able to imagine the emotions of the internees, but two moved in the opposite direction. One of them, Ethel, is discussed above. The other respondent, Crystal (Written Group), gave a very similar explanation to Ethel. She said, "I'm surprised actually that I went down {laughs a bit}." I asked if maybe she thought she had picked the same answer as the pre-test and she agreed, saying, "If anything, I think it would be the same before and after."

Figures 6.9 and 6.10 show how respondents rated their ability to imagine the emotions of the internees, by response category and treatment group, respectively. As is shown, the majority of the respondents remained at "fair" or "with some accuracy" after the presentation. Again, the Video Group had the greatest net positive change.





The in-depth interviews gave me an opportunity to delve a little deeper with regards to determining if the respondents could take the perspective of others, and if the presentation seemed to help with that endeavor. Most respondents were asked about their survey responses to Questions 15 and 16. I asked two additional questions over the course of the interviews that enabled respondents to take the perspective of American citizens and government during the internment era.

The Victim's Perspective

Table 6.20 below depicts the various presentation elements mentioned by respondents that helped them envision the experiences and emotions of the internees, *when asked directly about their ability to do so*. (Not all of the

respondents mentioned presentation elements, and this list is not reflective of comments made about presentation elements in other areas of the interview.)

Table 6.20: Helpful Elements of Presentation Mentioned By Respondents

Control Group
Marcel: pictures, story format of presentation
Jane: visuals/video
Anne: pictures, statistics
Ethel: pictures
Donny: pictures

Video Group
Gina: testimonies, videos, images of the actual camp, newsreel
Elle: pictures, and the narrative approach they bring
Liam: videos of the camps, testimonies
Matt: testimonies
Dylan: testimonies
Bonnie: testimonies

Written Group
Chris: photos
Rina: testimonies
Crystal: testimonies

Some respondents in each treatment group made comments about not being able to fully understand the perspective of the Japanese internees, almost as if they feared being presumptuous (in fact Peter of the Written Group said, "I answered thinking that I don't want to presume to know of the experience of these people").

This kind of humility did *not* surface when I asked them questions about the motives and actions of the American government and citizens. Sometimes a respondent's opinion expressed at various points of the interview belied their self-assessment of their ability to take the victim perspective. Gary (Control Group) is a good example. He is very humble in his approach to this topic when asked:

> Well I just feel that since I, growing up in a totally different time, I'm not really very educated about it, I've never met anyone who lived through these camps, so I just can't really pretend like I would be able to totally understand. Like I can read or find out about what may have happened, in terms of actually understanding what it was like to be in their shoes and totally lose your freedoms and like be stuck in a place however long and not be able to talk to your friends and to leave your businesses and everything and leave your homes and that's just something I feel like unless you actually lived through it, you can't really understand. You can say, 'oh, that would not be good, I wouldn't like that,' yeah you wouldn't like it, but you don't really understand the extent [of] how horrible it would really be to go through something like that unless you did. And hopefully, I won't ever have to understand that fully because…me nor anyone else should have to deal with something like that.

First, his answer *does* reflect some perspective-taking. He envisions being kept away from your friends, an aspect of internment that I never discussed in the presentation. Moreover, he spoke at length, in a different part of the interview, about his volunteer work as a tutor to prison inmates and how this a) influenced his beliefs about rights for people in custody and b) helped him to understand larger issues related to the judicial system in America, and who winds up confined within it. Similarly, Peter (Written Group) discussed his difficulty in imagining the lives of internees, but then said:

> I was thinking outside of the internment that has ramifications for families and that's sort of something that could be extended to the rest of the war, especially in Germany and the camps there, and what you read about those is that it totally breaks up a unit, and you may be able to go back and piece together afterwards, where different people went and what their circumstances were but at the time, you feel lost…[this] stuck with me a little more than others.[108]

Ethel rated her ability to imagine the internees' emotions and experiences low on the accuracy scale, yet when I asked her about rights for individuals detained but later found innocent, she changed her score on financial compensation question (see Question 10 in survey, Appendix C) because of her ability to imagine her family in a similar situation. She said, "after I saw the Japanese (the small owners) and like, you know, they came out with nothing, I just felt like if my family had to go through that, like how tough it would be, so I said like financial compensation for that."

So as with information recall, respondents tended to underestimate themselves, as evidenced by the fact that conversations about related topics yielded more insight and wisdom than a direct assessment question.

Not surprisingly, the respondents in the Video Group expressed the fewest barriers to perspective-taking. In fact, the only impediment seemed to be a belief that a complete understanding is not possible:

[108] Incidentally, this is exactly how Frank F. described his experience emotionally, though I did not believe that Peter was quoting Frank or even referring to his testimony here.

- [N]ot that I would ever…fully understand what they did…. Gina
- I still don't think I would be able to like, imagine being like almost like in a prison, somewhat. Pradeep
- Yeah I don't think I could ever really imagine it…. Dylan

Some cited their lack of education on the topic as reason why perspective-taking was difficult. Other respondents believed the event under study was too far back in history, they had never met anyone who experienced the camps, the testimonies seemed "framed" by the passage of time/exposure to other survivors' stories, and that I exposed them to too many case studies in too little time that were too short, which inhibited a "holistic view" of the experience. Finally, there was too much disparity between their life and the life of internees, as seen in Alan's (Written Group) comment, "Like, I've had a great upbringing. I've never had to live on my own, never mind [be] put in harsh conditions like that." As shown earlier in this chapter, some respondents (Anne, Gina, Matt, Liam, Bonnie, Chris, Rina, Crystal) revealed perspective-taking skills when answering my questions about their emotional response to the presentation.

Bystanders

During the course of the interviews, I asked respondents a two-part question about US citizens during the evacuation and internment of Japanese in America:

1. "Why do you suppose the average American citizen allowed their Japanese neighbors, and I'm sure in some cases their friends, to be interned by the government?"
2. "Do you think they bear any responsibility for internment, why or why not?"

Gina (Video Group), who as a child watched the second plane fly into the World Trade Center from her grandparents' building, was perhaps best qualified to comment on America's response to an attack on its soil. She said:

> I'm from New York City, I live in Brooklyn. So, and my mother was right around the twin towers, so she was, like she worked around there, so that day, and the day and the weeks honestly, months after that, I was 100% for getting anyone who had any relation to Al-Qaeda and that whole, I was so for it, and now looking back, that obviously was, not, not completely legitimate, so I feel like, I can see that how at that time people were kind of like, 'get rid of them,' 'cause you don't won't any threat and I think it's just like the terror kind of resonates throughout the country, so they'll do anything to get rid of the threat.

Like Gina, Ethel, a Korean American in the Control Group, brought up a personal, though much different, experience when answering this question. Of Americans during the war, she said, "Because even though they're nice on like—or they have a relationship with the Japanese or your neighbor who's Asian, still in the back of your mind, you know they're different," and then recounted a conversation at a service trip (this incident is discussed in Chapter 5) in which she was made to feel different than her white classmates.

While all of the respondents speculated as to why non-Japanese American citizens allowed internment to happen, a few of the respondents' comments revealed efforts to imagine themselves in a similar position or imagine the inner thoughts of those present at the time:

> Marcel (Control Group)
> As he did often in his interview, Marcel expressed ambivalence and a desire to view a situation from both sides.[109] After going to lengths

[109] More than once he talked about being Swiss and wanting to maintain neutrality on an issue.

to argue that Americans were in a sense guilty of a “sin of omission” for allowing internment to happen, he then said, ‘I feel like it is somewhat understandable because it was a time of war. And the fact that the Japanese came out of nowhere…. I mean, it would be very, very scary so I see their point.’ After saying he was ‘outraged’ over laws, both domestic and international, that he characterized as ‘racial profiling’ and ‘a violation of human rights,’ he also reasoned, of the government’s actions, ‘I understand I guess from their perspective….’

Matt (Video Group)
It's kind of like when you get something stolen from you, you just feel so violated, so when they bombed Pearl Harbor, you have just such, it's just, you have like anger and you just feel violated so, you do whatever you can.

Elle (Video Group)
I think it was just such a highly stressful, or very stressful time for everyone in the country, um, especially people who had, you know, were sending their kids off to go fight a war miles and miles and miles away, they were probably just so furious with what happened they were willing to, willing to do things like that.

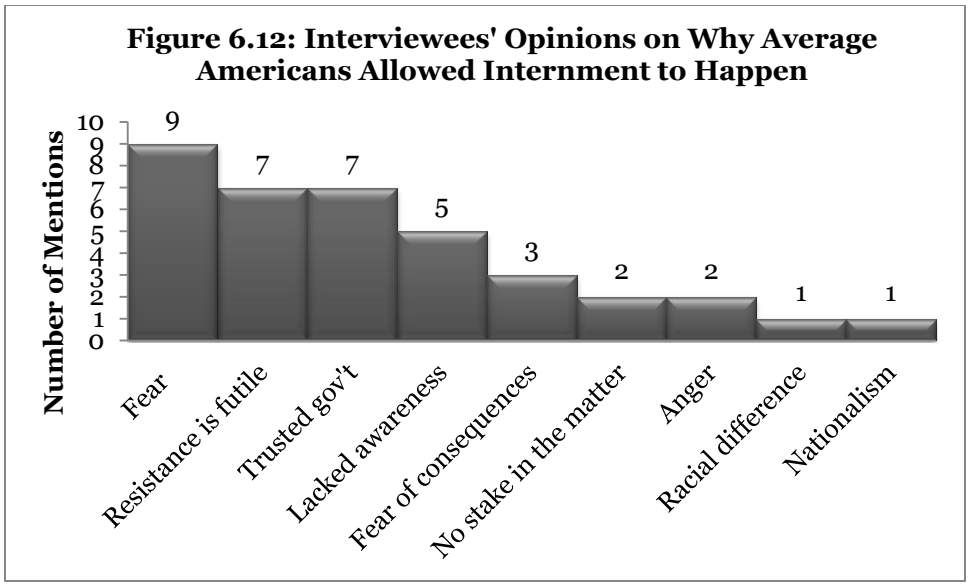
Rina (Written Group)
I feel like I'm sometimes like do this too, but there's something about when you hear, like I wanna say they heard that the Japanese, like what the Japanese had done, they automatically felt like differently toward all Japanese, even though you know, not all of them were like participated in it obviously. And so that made them feel safer that everyone who could've been associated with what happened were like put away, I guess.

Scarlet (Written Group):
I do feel like, especially in the instances of like people's homes and whatever being broken into while they were gone, you know if someone had entrusted me with that while they were gone because the government made them go, I feel like that would be my responsibility, like if someone broke into that, it would be just the same as them breaking into my store, so I feel like that's a very clear to me, that that was someone's responsibility, if they entrusted that to someone or even if they didn't, you know, if it's just your neighbor, your friend, somebody that works across the street, just kind of looking after that knowing that this isn't an easy time for

> them anyway, I feel like there should've...that that shouldn't have happened, just shouldn't have been allowed to happen.

Figure 6.12 below illustrates the variety of motives attributed to the American citizens by the interview respondents, and the frequency with which they were offered.[110] As discussed in Chapter 4, respondents, to my surprise, did not seem to believe that racism played a role in internment, and in fact, it was at this juncture that Chris (Written Group) characterized them as "naïve Americans" who were "not racist or anything like that." Ethel, who is Asian, was the only interviewee to bring up race by sharing her own anecdote (at a service trip, mentioned above) but in doing so, seemed to be identifying a white peer's insensitive reaction to racial *difference*, not racism, per se. What respondents *did* seem to believe, was that Americans fell prey to fear and propaganda, simply lacked awareness or worse, believed that efforts to stop internment would be futile. To the last point, I was struck by several comments used in these discussions that reflect a powerlessness or even sense of inevitability among the respondents, such as Evan's comment that "Everyone just got swept up in the tide of public opinion, and the rest is history, but you know, I think that the fear of the mass, [there's] definitely... examples of that all over history" or Pradeep's belief that, "I kind of feel like even if they were against it, [it] wouldn't have changed what the government did."

[110] Some respondents offered more than one motive for the actions of non-Japanese Americans. This chart reflects how many times each motive was mentioned across all interviews.



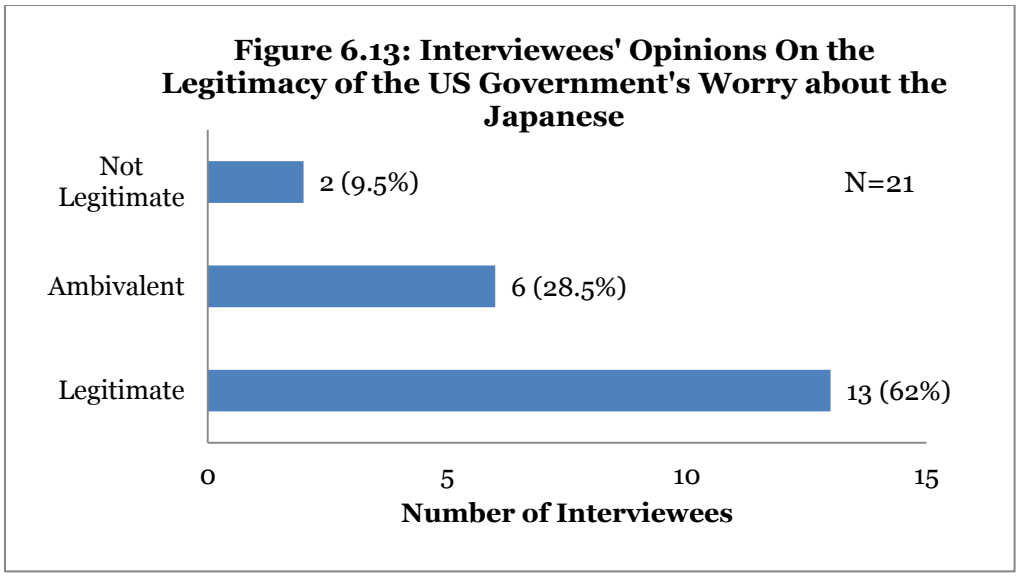
Sixteen students spoke to the second part of my question, the issue of whether or not American citizens bear any responsibility for internment. There was not a strong feeling among them that average people were culpable. One student, Anne (Control Group) said that much the same way that "we are to blame right now for all the crap going on in the world right now," they are responsible because they did not do anything to stop internment. Six students (3 Video Group, 3 Written Group) said they do not think American citizens bear any responsibility, and the rest (nine respondents) gave weak, or qualified, yeses, for example, "if they did know exactly what was going on, they should've said something" (James, Written Group) and "I mean I guess by association you do, because I mean, you're associated with America and your government is just taking the action for you" (Jane, Control Group).

The only presentation media mentioned during respondents' answers to my question was the newsreel, and that was mentioned in the service of acknowledging that the government used propaganda. No survivor testimonies of any kind were discussed by the interviewees with regard to this topic. Three respondents did bring up the loss of Japanese homes or businesses in this part of the discussion.

Perpetrators

The interview protocol included the question, "Do you think the government was legitimate in their worry about having the Japanese living on the edges of the country, and near sites like oil wells and ship yards?" As discussed in Chapter 4, the question was phrased this way because the newsreel, which was shown in all treatment groups' presentations, includes this "threat" as justification for evacuation. However this question confused two people who did not remember that part of the reel. Furthermore, the phrasing also enabled respondents to reply that they believed the worry was legitimate but did not agree with it, so parsing out their true feelings was a bit complicated.

All 21 respondents offered their opinion of the legitimacy of the government's motives in their interviews, and the breakdown of their opinions follows in Figure 6.13.



Of those who believed the worry was *not* legitimate, only one answer was a clear "no." Of the six who were ambivalent, some of the responses just lacked a clear "yes" or "no" so they were included in this category. Of the thirteen who believed that the government's worry was legitimate, four of these were clear "yeses." In short, there were respondents in all categories who exhibited ambivalence about the issue.

Nine respondents reasoned that while the government's fear was legitimate, its action in response to the fear was inappropriate (i.e., the ends did not justify the means), while two others had an opposite view:

> I can see at the time they kind of, they have to get rid of all the threats to make them feel better, so, it's sort of legitimate." Gina (Video Group)

> There was certainly [a] security concern in there, but at the same time, they were appeasing the public, who were just freaking out.

> You could argue in the long run though that by appeasing the general American public as a whole, they were more effective in the war, you [don't] know what the results, the rippling effects of that could have had.... Evan (Control Group)

Only one student, Bonnie (Video Group) brought up 9/11 to express her disapproval with internment. Gina alluded to contemporary issues saying, in addition to her comment discussed above, that, "I think that in a time of terror, everyone goes very far with it.... I've seen that now, like, we racial profile everyone."

As with other subjects in the interviews, sometimes a respondent's answer to a direct question did not represent the totality of their opinion. For example, Chris's (Written Group) response to the question expresses doubt about the legitimacy of the government's action:

> Oh, legitimate. Going in and just taking a family out of their house and moving them to some camp, like, far away from there, that's not legitimate, but I think they could've gone through a process where they had some, I dunno if spies are the word, some agents who really figured out, are these people actually harmful, could they do anything? I don't know what that process would be, so, legitimate, probably not.

In this answer he seems to be thinking of the victim. Yet at two other points in the interview, he shows a greater tendency to take the perspective of the government, and an underlying belief that the Japanese in America could have posed a threat. When asked if the presentation made him question a belief, he said:

> It's weird because I'm not, I'm definitely against internment camps, just the premise of them, the idea of them, but I'm not 100%, like, I do know where the government's coming from, but I still think they could've gone to a different route to handle the situation. Yeah, I think before the presentation I would've said, 'yeah you know what, I think the government probably did a good job there,' but after that, you know, 'they're not 100% wrong, but they could've done somethin' better.'

On Question 19, he believed before and after the presentation that internment was "problematic but necessary." When asked about this opinion, he said:

> When I picked that, I'm going to say I wasn't like, it was so borderline, it wasn't like, I wouldn't like write a paper on that trying to argue it, it's like, it's so hard, you have, you *have* to put yourself in the position of the government. I think you *have* to do that. Because you're not going to see…people who are studying sociology go and run the government, I mean I don't think that, like, me and you, might have a better like, moral sense of that, we don't put everything in perspective in terms of what it's actually like to be the president of the United State so I think, was it nec--, I don't think, going back, they had to do something, I think, they had to do something, putting them in camps was wrong and I don't know what the solution is, but maybe like, in some, how they might of had to infringe on some of the rights of the average Americans to get some information, see what leaked out, but taking them out of their homes? Like that's ridiculous.

Like Chris, other students, regardless of their opinion of internment, showed perspective-taking of the government by using the phrase "I understand" in their response:

> *Control Group*
>
> Marcel – used the phrase 3 times
>
> Gary – used the phrase 3 times

Video Group

Pradeep – used the phrase 2 times

Elle – used the phrase 2 times

Written Group

Scarlet – used the phrase 1 time

A respondents' minority race did not seem to prevent them from taking the government perspective where internment is concerned. For example, Ethel, a Korean American in the Control Group said, "I think on my survey I said yes and I think I still say yes because, I mean, as government I would try to take all precautions, especially because the way the war was." (It is unclear to which survey question she is referring, possibly Question 9 about racial profiling, for which she selected "it depends" both before and after the presentation.) Pradeep, an Indian American in the Video Group, said:

> I mean I don't think, it's one of those things where, I don't agree with, but I understand where they're coming from. Because Pearl Harbor was such a shock, 'cause they were trying to, relations looked like they were going to be better at times, like the Japanese government was leading us on a little bit, and then, it happened. So I understand why they freaked out, kind of, and went a little over board, but, I don't think it was the right, like, reaction.

For them, the anxieties of war seemed to justify the worry and the actions it provoked. Marcel, an American adoptee from Korea who spoke passionately and at length of his interest in human rights and his desire to work professionally to protect them, said, in part, "I guess I can understand from the government point,

a federal point of view why they were sent to isolated areas, so I guess they wouldn't pose a threat" and immediately after that said, "I dunno, it's a very touchy…it's so hard….{trails off}"

Other students' answers suggested that they, too, remain unconvinced of the innocence of the Japanese in America. Alan, a white student in the Written Group believes that "you just can't be sure about anything" and that "we could have lost our whole country in WWII because of that." And like Marcel, others acknowledged the "touchiness" of the topic. Elle, a white student in the Video Group, said, "I wanna say no to this question, it's not right for us to make people pack up and leave, but I understand [that under] the circumstances maybe it was justified?"

Gina (Video Group) was the only respondent who referenced any specific part of the presentation with regard to this topic, and she did so when discussing how she felt patriotic when watching the newsreel. There were five students (one in the Control Group, one in the Video Group, and two in the Written Group), however, who either discussed directly or alluded to the issue of citizenship in their response in making a distinction between who should be the object of suspicion and who should not. For example, Anne (Control Group) said, "I think they had a legitimate fear if like someone is from another country is here and you don't know if they're like on their side or our side…."

Discussion

The quantitative data discussed in this chapter show that the participants do, on the whole, become upset personally about injustice generally, but are less unified in terms of their desire to address it. The majority of survey-takers stated that the topic of Japanese internment upsets them a fair amount, and fewer felt neutral and more felt very upset about the topic after my presentation. Questions 3, 4 and 17 (all questions related to emotional response in an empathetic context) were compiled into an Emotional Response Index. Statistical analysis revealed that the presentation had a greater impact on those who came to the presentation with a less-empathetic mindset. Survey questions 15 and 16 measured participants' ability to imagine the experiences and emotions of the camp internees. With regard to experiences, the modal answer shifted from "with a small amount of accuracy" to "with some accuracy" between the pre- and post-test. Concerning internees' emotions during internment, participants' self-assessment remained at "with some accuracy" before and after the presentation, but the distribution of responses shifted toward a greater ability to imagine their emotions. As with the emotion-related questions, these perspective-taking questions were combined into a Perspective Taking Index. Statistical analysis revealed that the presentation had the greatest influence on those who entered the study with less confidence in their ability to take the perspective of internees. Analysis also showed that participants' treatment group, race, gender, school,

and age did not influence either their affective emotional response or their ability to take the perspective of others in one direction or the other.

The qualitative data provided a more textured picture of how students reacted to a multimedia presentation and the topic of Japanese internment. Even the unexpected responses were educational. Some respondents seemed to suggest that the Japanese survivors did not seem traumatized. And some, as discussed in Chapter 4, did not seem to understand the camp experience as the injustice it was. Their comments indicate that in part, they were responding to witnesses' relative lack of emotion during their testimonies. Perhaps with Japanese survivors, there is a cultural element at play. After all, Ethel, a Korean American in the Control Group, said, "we're sort of different in that we don't openly express what we experience, especially like tragedy kind of things. I think it's just like the typical stereotype Asian."

Pre-existing ideas seemed to be at work for some of the respondents. A respondent in the Video Group said that he "imagined things that actually never happened" and thus downgraded his level of upset about Japanese internment on Question 17 after the presentation. A woman in the Video Group explained that her (lack of) emotional response was in part due to her expectations, cultivated by the graphic specificity that characterizes many documentary projects today. My presentation was underwhelming in comparison. Moreover, her estimation of

internment, an injustice that left tens of thousands behind barbed wire for years without due process, seemed to her "just a small portion of their life." Hartman (2004:415) writes of an "'informational sickness,' caused by the speed and quantity of what impinges on us, and abetted by machines we have invented that generate endless arrays" and also of the "unprecedented realism in fiction and the public media" that encourages a "desensitizing trend, one that keeps raising the threshold at which we begin to respond." To wit, my respondents came of age with wireless Internet access, i-Phones, IMax movies in 3-D and video games so violent they come with parental warnings. She anticipated an abrasive shock that my photos, video, testimonies and narration never delivered. After all, how can one compete with a Napalm'ed child running for her life?

Surprisingly, the locus of the problem does not reside in the 21st-century present. Hartman (2004b:416) contends that this "'psychic numbing'" (referencing psychiatrist Robert Lifton's term) has been bemoaned since the Industrial Revolution, when consumer culture was new.[111] "[F]rom the outset, sensations are among the commodities being produced and consumed" (Hartman 2004b:427). Today, the magnitude and intensity of these sensations is only greater and as a result, "[a]ctuality is distanced by a larger than life violence and retreats behind all those special effects" (Hartman 2004b:417).

[111] Hartman does not provide any citation for Lifton here.

Hartman (2004b) contends that our response to this endless onslaught has other ramifications as well. The "public and the personal are not being moved closer together but further apart" (Hartman 2004b:415). Our ability to feel becomes diminished. We become apathetic. We minimize the suffering we learn about, which likely explains why the camps did not seem that bad, and why a respondent would take a comparative approach when thinking about internment, and see it pale in comparison to the "shooting squads" he discussed (Hartman 2004b). We also become suspicious of the media, and this keeps us from truly absorbing what we see, (most likely as a defense mechanism). Hartman (2004b: 416) writes:

> We register the fact that no event is reported without spin, without an explanatory or talky context that buffers the raw images; and we realize that pictures on TV remain pictures, that a sort of antibody builds up in our response system and prevents total mental disturbance. Even while deploring and condemning the events, we experience what the poet John Keats called 'the feel of not to feel it,' as we continue with everyday life.

Here I am reminded of Evan's (Control Group) offhand dismissal of the "negligible security risk" posed by the Japanese because "You can play with statistics to get them to say whatever you want to say" (this is discussed in Chapter 4). Hartman's (2004b) notion could explain why Peter (Written Group) spoke of the news media and the testimonies themselves as "framed" by the passage of time and exposure to others' stories. The fact that he would expect them to be factually accurate (that is, free of any such diluting) is an issue in and of itself, and one that the Holocaust literature suggests is contentious and

ongoing. Laub (1992), a psychoanalyst, founder of the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale, and a Holocaust survivor, writes about the reactions among colleagues to a survivor's recounting of an act of Jewish resistance within a camp. She remembered that four chimneys were blown up in the explosion, when historical record notes that only one chimney was destroyed in the bombing. The historians among Laub wanted to discount her entire account because of this factual error. Laub (1992:62) explains why her testimony is worthwhile nevertheless: "She was testifying not simply to the empirical historical facts, but to the very secret of survival and of resistance to extermination." Testimonies then, with or without inaccuracies, offer us knowledge we can get no other way, that is "not simply a factual given that is reproduced and replicated by the testifier, but a genuine advent, an event in its own right" (Laub 1992:62). Berenbaum (1995:94) agrees, writing, "Even when distorted and inaccurate with respect to fact and detail, memory contains an inner truth that its listeners must respectfully discern. It may describe the pain or loss. Distortion may reveal an inability to confront the horror of the event, it may unveil the vulnerability and sensibility of the survivor."[112]

In spite of these few surprising reactions, the interviews demonstrated that the presentation did generate many expected emotions among the respondents of sadness, shock, frustration, shame, etc. I was also able to discern what elements

[112] Berenbaum's comments come from an essay in which he is reviewing, among other works, Laub's (1992) work in *Testimony*, from which Laub's comments in the previous sentence are excerpted.

of the presentation were effective and which were not. Many cited the visual elements of the presentation as impacting their response. The literature helps explain why.

Part of this is likely generational. Writing in 2006, Coohill (458) referred to his students as "the History Channel Generation" who are "used to learning things visually" (but as discussed in Chapter 4, researchers have been making similar observations for decades). He began incorporating images into his history lectures and then tested their efficacy and gathered feedback from his students. In addition to boosting information retention considerably, he found that visual aids enhanced his students' comprehension and ability to perspective-take. One student reported that the images "helped us to 'be there.' It also gave us a clue as to what it was like during that time frame" (Coohill 2006:460). Berry *et al.*'s (2008) work help us understand why some images are emotional—when it "elicits arousal (and thus increases attention)" and how emotional images work within an educational context: "students have to expend less cognitive effort to learn the material. Images can also help students with perspective taking. They explain:

> A cognitive evaluation theory would claim that the human capacity for empathy is central for creating an emotional reaction to these kinds of images. In some way, we see the people portrayed in these images as ourselves; that their plight is our own. By stepping in their shoes, our emotional response is to feel what they are feeling (anger, fear, happiness, etc.).... Cognitive evaluation may be a theoretical term for why role playing can be a powerful learning experience in the history classroom.(p. 446)

As hoped, the testimonies did prove salient for respondents, and those mentioned most often resonated in some way with their own lives. Trost (2009:170) had a similar experience, noting that her students' evaluations revealed that stories helped them identify with the characters and believes "They are drawn to specific examples of other cultures to which they can relate and they are very curious about the everyday lives of people in the world" (177).

Finally, my goals for this project included discerning if students had the ability to take not just the perspective of the victims, but also the government officials who evacuated and interned them, as well as the American citizens who watched them go. Hirsch and Kacandes (2004:15) note that this technique is considered an "important paradigm" in Holocaust education and argue that:

> Limiting their identification to victims, however, may prevent students from considering the agency of the crimes that they are studying. Students are in fact drawn to consider the position of perpetrators, bystanders, and rescuer, wondering whether they would have been capable of resisting had they been alive in Nazi Germany or whether they would have collaborated.' (p.16). They warn that 'Even while discussing these different positions explicitly, it is important to explore with students what it means to witness the Holocaust from their own, retrospective vantage point, from the point of view of the present.' (p. 17)

I asked respondents to imagine themselves in the role of the Japanese (the victims), American citizens (bystanders) and the US government (the perpetrators). When asked about the perspective of the internees, fourteen respondents mentioned specific elements of the presentation that facilitated that

process. Twelve mentioned a visual aspect of the presentation, and seven mentioned the testimonies. (Additionally, one Control Group respondent mentioned the "story format" of the presentation and one Video Group respondent described the photos as giving the presentation a "narrative approach.") Respondents seemed to have an easier time imagining themselves in the bystander and perpetrator role, but often felt misgivings about saying they could imagine life inside the camp. Of the American citizens, respondents on the whole believed they allowed internment to happen out of fear, faith in the government, and because they did not believe they could stop it from happening. Overall, they did not have a strong opinion that citizens are culpable for what happened to the Japanese. Almost two-thirds of respondents believed that the US government's impetus for internment was legitimate, and nearly one-third were ambivalent. Even their phrasing ("I understand") implied that, by and large, respondents empathized with the plight of the government officials after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Using the case of Japanese internment during WWII to test college students' opinions about national security and civil liberties was an interesting and enlightening exercise on many fronts. The bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, a surprise enemy attack on US soil, was the first of its kind. The event, as well as the consequences of America's response for Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans, was recalled often in the media sixty years later when the country suffered its next unforeseen attack on September 11, 2001. As previously discussed, internment was a subject of which most of the men and women interviewed for this study knew very little. By contrast, the specter of the 9/11 tragedy looms large for them, and for us, as a nation. After a decade-long hunt, US forces found and executed Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in May of 2011. Later that year, the country commemorated the ten-year anniversary of the attacks with moving tributes and the dedication and (partial) opening of a memorial at Ground Zero in New York City. The observances made one thing clear: our wounds are still fresh.

As was the case in the 1940's, the government unleashed a host of measures in the wake of the attacks that raised many concerns about civil liberties, human rights, and the Constitution, and we are still contending with the effects of those decisions as well. Most notably, the Bush Administration authored the USA Patriot Act (an acronym for *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism*) which passed

quickly, easily, and with little resistance through Congress within two months of that fateful day. The Act undermines the freedoms allowed by the First and Fourth Amendments and allows the government unprecedented access to citizens' information and communications with very little proof, accountability, or visibility—and expands the scope beyond protection against terrorism to law enforcement generally. The government can now wiretap and search property without probable cause (previously allowed for foreign intelligence gathering only).[113] The issue remains relevant today. As recently as March of 2012, the media uncovered covert actions by the New York Police Department used to monitor Muslim activity at neighborhood establishments and mosques in New York and New Jersey. The force allegedly used recording devices and hired "mosque crawlers" and "rakers," undercover agents looking for suspicious activity in the Muslim community.[114]

In spite of his campaign promise to do so, President Obama has not closed Guantanamo and as of December 2011, signed the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). Kain (2012) writes that "The National Defense Authorization Act greatly expands the power and scope of the federal government to fight the War on Terror, including codifying into law the indefinite detention of terrorism suspects without trial. Under the new law the US military has the

[113] See the American Civil Liberties report, Surveillance Under the USA Patriot Act, http://www.aclu.org/national-security/surveillance-under-usa-patriot-act.
[114] See http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/law/jan-june12/nypd_02-28.html.

power to carry out domestic anti-terrorism operations on US soil."[115] With a re-election campaign in full swing, the issue of detainees and due process seems permanently off the table. Obama has also faced criticism for his record on illegal immigration. Deportations under his administration have surpassed those under the Bush administration.[116] The issue of illegal immigration has become contentious on the state level as well. As discussed in chapter 1, many relevant issues were happening while I was in the midst of interviewing students during the data collection in 2010. As I conclude this project in 2012, Alabama has joined Arizona in enacting harsh immigration laws in hopes of encouraging illegal aliens to "self deport."[117]

With the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan winding down, tensions in other areas of the world are mounting, and threaten to ensnare the US in another conflict. Since 2008, much of the world has contended with the worst global economic crisis since the Great Depression. Greece, Italy and others are undertaking severe "austerity measures" which have led to riots and strife.[118] The "Arab spring" of 2011 led to the toppling of leaders in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, and spurred numerous uprisings in the Middle East. The US assisted the overthrow of Quadafi in Libya, and with Syria is in chaos and the al-Assad regime killing civilians in

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[115] See http://www.forbes.com/sites/erikkain/2012/01/02/president-obama-signed-the-national-defense-authorization-act-now-what/.
[116] See http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/12/obamas-record-high-deportations-draw-hispanic-scorn/.
[117] See http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2012/01/self-deportation-fantasy-or-reality/.
[118] See http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57326927/greeks-italians-riot-over-austerity-measures/.

what the Arab League is calling a "crime against humanity,"[119] there is a question as to whether the US will become involved in that conflict as well. North Korea's communist dictator Kim Jong Il died in 2011 and was succeeded by his son, Kim Il Sung, leaving the world wondering how he will handle his country's nuclear program. Tensions between Israel and Iran are rising over Iran's nuclear program, causing some to predict war, and possible US involvement. As our government responded to the 9/11 attacks in 2001, there was a lot of speculation about the feasibility of all-volunteer armed forces, and whether or not a draft should be considered at some point in America's future. Indeed, two prolonged wars have seen men and women serving multiple tours of duty, often in spite of brain injuries and PTSD. Should the nation revisit a draft, *college students would be among those called to serve*. What did my study reveal about their attitudes and opinions about rights and freedoms as they pertain to national security?

Impressions of the Millennial Generation from Interviews

A sample of 21 college students, most of whom hail from the same university (BC) and the same type of course (sociology), is not nearly enough to make definitive statements about a generation of people. However, I did notice some trends in the interviews that are noteworthy enough to share here, as they paint a picture that might warrant further investigation.

[119] See http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012-03-13/syria-violence/53509626/1.

- ***They seem to feel unempowered, and unlikely to fight for justice***

In Question 4 of the survey, participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement, "Learning about an injustice usually makes me wish I could do something to fix it." After the presentation, the majority of participants believed the statement represents them "much of the time." Yet, I was struck several times by an absence of feeling. As discussed in Chapter 6, respondents seemed to be able to empathize with bystanders and perpetrators more easily than with victims. Moreover, not one respondent discussed the examples of inhumanity that I tried carefully to depict in my presentation. Compelling photos, of a family wearing ID tags, or of internees being inspected on their way in and out of camp, for example, were never mentioned. Not one of the 14 respondents exposed to testimony mentioned the man describing living in animal stalls or the woman answering a guard's question if she were human, because he was trained that "Japs" were gorillas, and therefore okay to shoot. I kept asking myself, "where is the outrage?"

I also detected a feeling of apathy and futility among the interviewees. When asked about future behavior, Evan said, "I might be more apt to kind of question circumstances as they are. But then, this goes back to the whole, well, I'll just give up very quickly because, no, I can't change anything." Elle, when asked about what rights, if any, she would forfeit, she said in part, "I'm not really an activist,

and I'm pretty passive when it comes to this sort of thing." When asked about her emotions about the topic of internment, Jane admitted that it "didn't happen to me, and it's not really directly affecting my life as much as I could see it as the you know the US government doing something wrong…I might be upset for an instant, you know when I'm watching it, but it's not going like to change my everyday life."

Many brushed off the idea of government apologies and restitution as pointless, though their reasoning was varied (for example, some believe such apologies to come off as insincere, a surprising finding). I sensed social class privilege might be at play here. I have a hard time imagining that privileged students would not desire financial compensation from the government should their family homes, businesses and way of life be lost, purportedly for "national security." When opinions turned to the absurdity of reparations for slavery, I also believed that this reflected a poor sense of the economic and social legacies of injustice and structural inequality. More disturbing was their acceptance of injustice throughout history. A few particularly striking examples are:

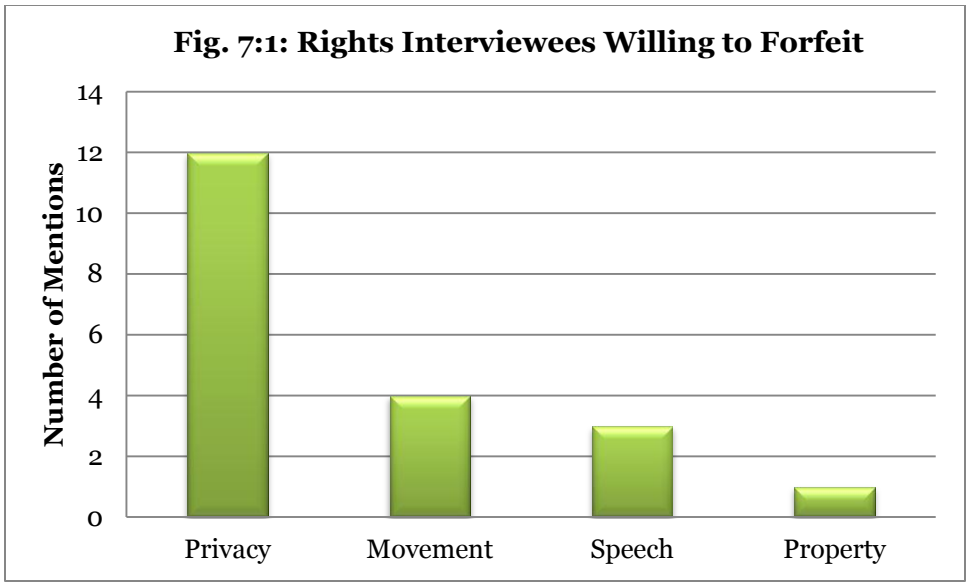
- Bad things happen and that's just history. Evan
- And with history, history is history. Marcel
- Well…when I first took the survey, I was like, 'this is just history and this is the way it goes,' and I'm very like, 'you've got to get over it and move on past it' kind of person." Ethel
- I think wartime really messes with people, and I think people's moral compasses or their…ideas of human rights sort of go out the window often…which is unfortunate, but I think that's just the way it is. Dylan

As discussed in Chapter 6, many speculated that Americans allowed their Japanese neighbors to be interned because they believed protesting would not change anything. Perhaps this generation was raised to comply versus stand up? These comments suggest that this could be the case.

> I'd say that my parents and my grandparents have always, no matter whom we've ever met, you give 'em a clean slate and even if you don't like them, you're still like polite to them and you're never rude to them, 'cause you wouldn't want someone to do that to you. Bonnie, discussing the origin of her general beliefs
>
> A large part just my family and my parents, just being raised to make the right decisions, kind of be open to um other people, even if you disagree, maybe not expressing [that] outwardly to others. Jane, discussing the origin of her general beliefs
>
> But whatever they taught me, I guess, I'm very—I guess I'm very obedient and I just like do whatever my parents say…. Ethel, discussing personal experiences relevant to this study

- ***They seem <u>very</u> willing to give up their own rights, especially privacy***

I asked respondents what rights, if any, US citizens should be would be willing to forfeit to keep America safe. All but one student spoke to this issue in the interviews. Privacy was the right mentioned most often. Of course some qualified their answers, like Pradeep, who limited it to "big public places like an airport." Figure 7.1 shows the range of responses to this question.



Perhaps the willingness of youth to forfeit their privacy in an era of Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube is unsurprising. However, I was taken aback by their cavalier attitude about government surveillance, and how some did not see it as an infringement on their lives. Anne said, “I think that yeah, like to a certain extent, I think that, at certain times you should be, you can give up, like the freedom of privacy, like, I don't, that doesn't really affect me, so I think I'd be willing to give that up.” When asked about his responses to Questions 11 and 12 (rights in a time of peace and war, see Appendix C) Marcel said: “I think the government has a right to know where I am currently. And like if it’s preventing terrorists, you know, if it’s preventing me from traveling but it prevents a terrorist from doing something else, then that’s perfectly fine for me." Six other students offered this “for the good of the group” rationale. Three students used the “I have nothing to hide” reasoning. For example, Jane said, “while it might be

something to get used to, I don't know, just having cameras or surveillance of any sort, if you have nothing to hide, I don't see why it should be a problem." Ethel, Evan, and Chris's responses demonstrated a fundamental trust in the government not to abuse the power. Evan, who would be willing to give up "pretty much every right" said, "If the government's wrong, as we've discussed, they need to make amends, they need to address the situation, but if it was done in good conscious and they were in fact correct, hey you guys did your job, bravo."

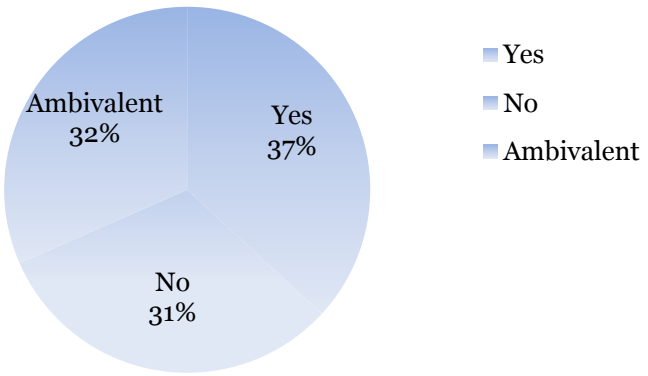
Peter and Liam gave insightful answers, and were the only two who showed any reflection about government power.

> Peter: Um well, when I think about the current context, I would actually maybe say, in general no, but I think there's probably exceptions that I'm not thinking of, but for the most part, um, I think in a time where America is threatened, ah, that's sort of the time when the rights are most important for the people, you know, so like…. People who threaten the US are trying to maybe want our rights to be curtailed in a way, and especially like now, where we've been, it's sort of been a threatening atmosphere for almost a decade now, that if we had limited people's rights, like how long is it going to go on, you know? So that's kind of what I would worry about, is you don't know where it's going to end, necessarily, so.
>
> Liam: Yeah, privacy is the first thing, and then ah I dunno, I think beyond that though, once you start basic American rights, like it's, it becomes questionable as to whether like it's worth it because we, you know, this country is kind of founded on the idea of us having these rights that can't be taken away, when the government starts taking them away, or if the government starts taking them away, like I would be questioning whether this is right because people have these rights, and we've had them as long as we've had them and this country seems on a solid foundation, but if the government

> decides to start taking them away like, like I would be questioning whether it's the right thing or not.

I also explained to interview respondents that "After 9/11 and similar events in history, the US government re-evaluated some of the rights and protections of its citizens. For example, the Bush Administration began a wiretapping program that allowed them to listen in on communications without a warrant or the person's knowledge. Do you think this should be allowed?" Nineteen respondents spoke to this issue. Figure 7.2 shows the breakdown of opinions.

Fig. 7.2: Respondents' Opinions About Wiretapping

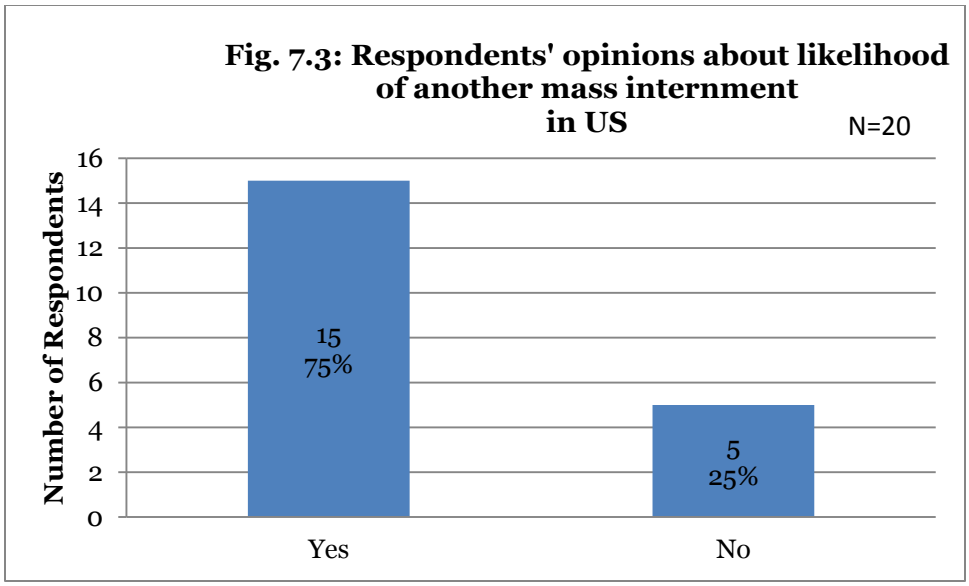


Of those who said yes, many gave qualified yeses, for example, Crystal (Written Group) said, "I think, at that period of time [meaning, after 9/11], I think that was fine." As with the rights question discussed above, some (five in this case) gave a "I have nothing to hide" type of answer, regardless of their opinion of the practice

of wiretapping. Echoing the fatalistic attitude described above, several respondents sounded resigned to the reality of government surveillance. Evan said, “Call me a conspiricist, but I’m pretty sure this has been happening for upwards of 20 years and I’m pretty sure it just happens anyway” and Rina noted “it’s definitely like a privacy issue, but, I dunno, I guess that’s just one of the ways nowadays…that people gain information {kind of laughs} is from wiretapping.” Six respondents discussed government power in their thoughts about wiretapping, and three mentioned the Constitution in their answer.

- ***They seem fearful/uncertain of a world at peace***

Twenty of 21 respondents spoke to the issue of the likelihood of another mass internment in America. There were very few definitive yes/no answers, so I grouped them by overall direction of the answer. (For example, Gary’s comment, “no, at least not to the extent that it was….” was counted as a no. Ethel’s statement, “I want to say no. But I know it could….” was counted as a yes. In addition to offering an opinion, some examined both sides of the issue, so both their reasons for/against are included below.) Figure 7.3 illustrates that three-quarters of the respondents believe that another mass internment is possible.



Those who did not think internment could happen again cited a different federal government (Peter and Dylan) and their belief that our society learned from the Japanese internment experience (Bonnie, Peter, Rina). Some suggested that the American public is different—more liberal (Crystal); too savvy (Liam, Bonnie); more diverse (Dylan); too likely to oppose internment (Pradeep, Liam, Crystal); too much concern for individual rights now (Pradeep); we are more conscious of being good to each other (Jane). Three respondents (Gary, Liam, Alan) think there is too much transparency today (e.g., Internet, media) for the government to get away with interning a whole group of people. Liam added, "the story that was sold to the Americans wouldn't fly nowadays, like we wouldn't listen, like we wouldn't hear that, that would just sound like nonsense to us, and we'd just say, you can't do this to all these people, it's wrong." On the contrary, some respondents (Anne, Gina, Liam, Jon, Donny) believe we as a society have *not*

learned our lesson from the Japanese experience and thus could repeat the mistake. Four people (Evan, Marcel, Elle and Crystal) talked about recent events/current insecurity in the world, with Marcel expressing fear of a catastrophe (which he later dismissed as "crazy talk"): "I believe there is going to be another world like, World War III. I don't think it's going to be necessarily—it's going to be completely different. But I think there may—especially with the tensions in North Korea and the tensions in the Middle East with Iran—like I think there's going to be some kind of Cold War II…." Many (Marcel Jane, Gina, Elle, Chris, Rina, Alan) believe that internment could happen after another really significant event, and several respondents if the government interned, it would be due to panic and fear (Evan Marcel Ethel, Gina Elle, Matt, Chris). Some (Ethel, Matt) just speculated about the wild card of human nature, our tendency to scapegoat (Ethel and Gina) and another respondent thinks internment would garner much public support today (Crystal).

Six respondents thought the scale of the internment would be different now. Another six respondents acknowledged that our government is currently detaining people indefinitely, and three mentioned Guantanamo Bay specifically. Five respondents mentioned 9/11 and/or Muslims/Arabs.

- ***My data support the idea that the notion of a "post-racial America" is a myth***

In spite of many Americans' broad proclamations about a "post-racial" society, my data suggest that race and racism remain salient factors in everyday American life. What perhaps has changed is peoples' discomfort in openly admitting to making assumptions based on race. Alan, a white criminal justice major from BSU in the Written Group, said, somewhat awkwardly, "But it's just—I mean not to be racist" while explaining to me "certain groups of people are more likely to commit crimes." Scarlet, a white woman from Mississippi in the same treatment group, made a case for racial profiling using "purple people" in her hypothetical example. Such phrases, as well as body language and speech patterns, revealed that race is clearly an uncomfortable topic for many to discuss. And the interview data suggests that even when presented with evidence to the contrary, few believed racism played a significant role internment. At the same time, a startling number of respondents, including students of color, support the use of racial profiling to keep America safe, even if they do not agree with it on principle.

- ***They seem very willing to sublimate the rights of the individual for the "greater good"***

Psychologist Jean Twenge, Ph.D. (2006) dubs the millennial generation "Generation Me" in her book of the same name. Yet my data show young people

willing to sacrifice individual rights (even their own) for the greater good. Anne, Liam, and Scarlet's comments exemplify this stance.

> Anne: I don't care, they can listen into my phone calls because I'm not like, a terrorist or anything and so I wanna say, yeah it's fine, like it doesn't matter. But at the same time, it does infringe on people's rights. To have like privacy, it's infringing on the freedom of privacy, but, at the same time, it's just like, well if they're gonna catch the bad guys by doing it, if they like, they're not going to tap into random people's conversation just to listen to them, they're trying to go after the terrorists, I guess.
>
> Liam: I'd be alright if they were going to monitor phone calls because it would help save people, I'd be alright with that.
>
> Scarlet: I think that if you're concerned with your country and not with yourself as much, I mean like obviously you're going to be worried about yourself, but if you're concerned with everyone as a whole, then you should be willing to say, 'sure,' you know, 'I will do without the freedom of having private phone conversations,' that way they can, to keep everybody safe, um, I think that that's part of community.

9/11 as transformative experience

Contemporary college students are one of the first generations to get a thorough education on the Holocaust in school. Yet in spite of the world's cry of "Never Again," genocide in Darfur and the Balkans occurred during their childhood. Then, as elementary and middle school students, they watched in confusion as the world's "super power," once thought untouchable, was caught off guard by terrorist attacks on its own soil. Their president declared a non-descript "War on Terror" and before long, the country was at war on two fronts. As a result, they have also grown up with a pop cultural imagination infused with the anxieties of a post-9/11 world. Marcel spoke specifically about the influence of a television

show "24" that addresses the country's preoccupation with national security. The show, which ran from 2001-2010, features Jack Bauer, an agent for the L.A. Counter Terrorism Unit.[120] Many fictional portrayals of "bad guys" today employ actors of Middle Eastern descent. This is reminiscent of the way that movies in the 1970's and 1980's of my youth responded to our Cold War fears by featuring villainous characters with Eastern European accents.

Thus, the tragedy of 9/11 likely shaped a lot of this generation's views, whether or not they, like Gina, experienced the trauma first hand. Even Chris, who grew up in Massachusetts, said "it's so hard, because, I keep thinking about 9/11, I can't get it out of my head" when asked if a person's citizenship should matter in a racial profiling scenario. They cannot escape the impact of this event. The consequences of attacks on American foreign and domestic policy are well documented and known, and can be experienced in everyday life. Pradeep, a Maryland native, spoke of his experience flying through a high-security international airport featuring the new (and controversial) security scanners. Every year the 9/11 anniversary is marked with reverent media coverage of observances, and there are respectful tributes to fallen (American) soldiers every Memorial Day. However, the consequences *to* those Americans and foreign nationals in America—Muslim, Arab, South Asian and others—who aroused the suspicion of US authorities is much less well known. Comments from my respondents, like those below, reflect this lack of knowledge—and sensitivity—

[120] See http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0285331/

about the real consequences of 9/11 for people of color, non-citizens and religious minorities:

> Ethel: But like even after 9/11 nobody did an encampment of all the Middle Eastern people in the world. I mean they might have gone through like racism and stuff like that….
>
> Dylan: It's a civil, we're not throwing people in jail because they have a turban, you know? When you compare it with how other countries treat the enemy, I really don't think it's a big deal.
>
> Elle: …going back to something like the Japanese situation versus Muslim Americans today. I don't necessarily think that kind of discrimination or racial profiling, should be like, we should give an apology for…doing that right after September 11th, however, in the case of the Japanese when something severe was done, there definitely should be, something should happen with that.

The shadow of the 9/11 tragedy likely explains many of the opinions expressed by the respondents in this study which seem at odds with other aspects of their experience. On the surface, their views can seem nonsensical, when juxtaposed with other aspects of their experience, but I contend that their views are dominated by existential fear. The insecurity born from bearing witness to the attacks and growing up with the fallout, is likely why, for example, the descendent of Holocaust victims could believe, before and after a lesson on the mass internment of a people based solely on their race, to be a "problematic but necessary" solution.

Summary of Key Study Findings

Discussions with interview respondents enabled me to seek feedback on the presentation in two additional ways. First, I asked, somewhat early on in the interview, "Did anything in the presentation make you question a belief you had, or change your mind about something?" Six respondents (three Control Group, two Video Group) said no. Six students (two Control Group, one Video Group, three Written Group) said no, but because the presentation reinforced beliefs they already held. Two respondents' answers showed a willingness to empathize with the government's perspective.

> Scarlet, a white woman in the Written Group, said:
> Not really, I guess we had briefly studied it. I mean, I'm sure, I know we didn't do it justice or anything. But just, and I've always, kind of felt like, in those situations, you do have to look out for the most good for the most people. And so I don't feel like they went about it in the right way, but, at the end, I still felt like, I could see where they were coming from. Maybe the government didn't do the right thing, but I could see why they thought it was.
>
> Alan, a white man in the Written Group, offered:
> I know with every action like our government takes, there's going to be bad things. But as long as it's for the right reasons, most of the time, it's good.

Several respondents' comments referred to their lack of previous knowledge of the subject. Rina (Written Group) said, "I finally got the whole story" and gave perhaps the most concrete example of a new perspective when she said, "I don't know if it necessarily changed anything, but I realized that is a big issue [a person having] citizenship or not, and that whole like huge immigration thing like just plays into things [more] than like I ever thought [it] had…. I realize it's not just

about race or color or whatever, but also about citizenship…..” Chris (Written Group) who expressed conservative views throughout his interview realized that he would not look at the government’s actions uncritically, as he might have before. Gina (Video Group), who, as mentioned, was a first-hand witness, was profoundly affected by the September 11th attacks, suggested that the presentation gave her the opportunity to consider alternative viewpoints. She explained:

> Um, not a 100%, I did know, I mean it reminded me of what I've learned, because we did do a lot, I did a lot with it, in middle school so it kind of, bringing back those stats kind of, you kind of forget that side, and I mean, it's been so long and now everything since then I've focused on the American side of it and not really thinking about what's going on with the Japanese—the American Japanese citizens.
>
> Susan: Cause of 9/11?
>
> Gina: {Stammers here.} Kind of. {sort of laughs…stammers some more} That has had an impact on it, definitely.

The very last question I asked of interview respondents was, “Do you think you would approach any situation differently as a result of seeing this presentation and thinking about these issues?” Most respondents did not predict a significant change in their behavior. Many believed that learning about internment did offer them something to use for future consideration or debate. For example, Crystal (Written Group) said, “it’s another piece of information to add to my case in my mind if I do ever encounter a situation where I need to pull up an example.” Six respondents mentioned some sort of concrete step they would take if a similar

situation should arise. The most proactive comments came from Liam (Video Group) who said, “Like if it was really serious I would even protest it in some form,” Jon (Written Group) who noted, “I think I would speak up, if that were to happen”, and Alan (Written Group) who predicted, “I’d probably look more into it. And if I could do anything to help, I would.” Others said they would question the circumstances should the government head down a similar path in the future. Three respondents’ answers to this question demonstrated victim perspective-taking.

> Evan, an American adopted from Korea in the Control Group said:
> [L]et's say, like North Korea suddenly becomes a giant threat…if I was being detained, I might say, well, is this correct? And you know, I might be a little angry about it…. [He followed this up with ‘my belief structure and all that remain largely unchanged. I mean, it was certainly a good presentation in terms of learning more about that specific incidence in history but in terms of altering my value structure, I don't think that I was affected.’]
>
> Gina, a white woman in the Video Group offered:
> I think it's interesting to think about how I feel about it if I was in that situation, I think it's not something I really think about because I mean, I'm Caucasian, I'm like Christian and I don't think, and…I'm never really considered much of a threat, I mean, I've only gotten stopped once at the airport and that's because I had toothpaste in my bag. And they were really nice to me about it, and they threw it out and that's it, so I don’t think, so I never really thought of it in, well, if I was in that situation how would I feel? I think that this presentation really made me do that.
>
> Matt, a white man in the Video Group reflected:
> I'd say, probably, because many times you don't try to put yourself in like the Japanese American citizens' feet and see what it must've been like for them. So kind of like understanding the oppressed kind of sometimes can change your mind a little and makes you rethink.

Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data allowed me to reflect more concretely on the educational strategies tested in this study. Recall (tested mostly through the interviews) of the overall topic was excellent. Visual elements—the pictures especially—were important to both memory, perspective-taking, and emotional response, although surprisingly, few specific details about them were recalled (even by those who said they are "visual learners" or remembered more of the pictures than any other part) and most mentioned the shop closings/property damage. (For example, the only vandalism shots were of a desecrated cemetery and ransacked Buddhist temple—but no one mentioned either, and I suspected they conflated these images with my narration/testimonies that talked of looted/destroyed homes.) The majority of photos, including those of camp life, were not mentioned by any of the respondents.[121] I learned that memories could be emotional and influential, but lack detail.

The newsreel featured prominently in respondents' comments, mostly because there was a clear juxtaposition between the government's official story and the lived experience of the Japanese presented.

Testimonies were unilaterally thought to be effective, even by those in the Control Group who were asked about them hypothetically. Incidentally, half of the

[121] As mentioned in Chapter 4, Marcel mentioned camp rooms, but I was unclear if he was recalling images from a book or my presentation.

testimonies were not mentioned by a single respondent in either the Video Group or the Written Group—even those chosen for their poignant quality. The two testimonies recalled by the most respondents were given by Frank Y. and Frank F. Note that Frank Y. described a concrete loss (a business), and two of the three women who recalled his testimony were daughters of entrepreneurs. Frank F. became emotional during his segment, and described a family separation (something that resonated with students, especially those with close family relationships). He recalled the event during his teenage years, to men and women either still in, or just out of their teens. Respondents (regardless of their treatment group or recall) explained that personal narratives are effective teaching tools because they create an intimate connection, can be influential/emotionally moving, are engaging, elicit compassion, seem authentic and offer a holistic, nuanced understanding of lived experience.

Some of the main teaching goals I created for the presentation were not met. In spite of a testimony, narration and even photographic evidence, some respondents did not think racism played a factor in internment (or in the response of average Americans to the government's actions) and were unconvinced that the conditions inside the camp were harsh. The loss of economic opportunity and personal property did remain with respondents. Many did not seem to remember whether or not the Japanese were awarded an apology

and reparations, or absorb that these were hard-won vindications that arrived in their twilight years.

The two "sociological perspective" survey questions yielded opposite results. On the one hand, participants understand the impact of major historical events on their lives. The interviews support this finding. When asked about influences on their general beliefs and opinions specific to this study, many respondents spoke of milestones such as WWII and the Korean War. They also named social forces such as racism. Yet, participants largely attribute success in America to personal agency. Statistical analysis on the data from both questions showed that the presentation had more positive impact on the responses of those who entered the test with a weaker sociological perspective (as measured by these specific questions), and that being female and an upperclassman corresponded to higher scores on the question (and thus stronger sociological perspective).

In terms of their opinion about the efficacy and ethics of internment and associated policies, the quantitative data and qualitative data tell a different story. The survey data show, for example, that the majority of the participants disagree with racial profiling as a law enforcement tool. Statistical analysis showed that those who agreed with the practice (or thought it situationally dependent) were most influenced by the presentation toward disagreeing with the practice afterward. Talking to respondents of color revealed complicated

racial identities that were often at odds with society's labels, and that one's race—or experience of racism—did not predict attitudes about racial profiling. Respondents often credited the testimonies with shifting their opinions, in what could be described as a more tolerant direction. Specifically, stories that highlighted the emotional/material consequences were most effective. When asked about whether or not internment was effective in keeping America safe, the majority of participants did not think so, either before or after the presentation, and statistical analysis revealed that being female or a student of color increased the odds of holding this belief. Similarly, a large majority of participants in the pre- and post-test believed internment to be fundamentally wrong. Statistical analysis unearthed the surprising finding that being in the Written Group was associated with holding a more favorable view of internment, but given the small p value associated with the coefficient, this is likely a false positive. For both issues, the presentation was more influential on those who held less tolerant views going into the presentation. Again, the respondents' feedback complicated these findings. Many comments reveal that students, regardless of their survey response, remained largely unconvinced that the Japanese were innocent victims of racism and fear. Many wondered if there was information about threats that perhaps we just never discovered, or the government never released.

Lastly, data collection around emotions and empathy revealed some surprising data, and was probably the most useful in terms of identifying weaknesses in the

presentation. The surveys yielded fairly expected responses. Participants, on the whole, find injustice personally upsetting, though they were mixed in terms of their willingness to respond actively to it. Japanese internment, specifically, upset them a fair amount, in both the pre- and post-test. Combining the "emotion questions" into an index and running statistical analysis revealed that once again, the presentation was most moving to those who approached the study with survey answers showing less emotional sensitivity. Participants did not exhibit too much confidence assessing their ability to take the perspective of internees' emotions and experiences. Statistical analysis from an index created from those survey questions revealed that the presentation was most influential on those who had little confidence in their perspective-taking ability with regard to the Japanese internees. Conversations with respondents presented the opportunity to ask not only about identifying with the victims, but the bystanders and perpetrators of the persecution of the Japanese as well. Respondents, even those of color (including Asian students) seemed to find it easier to identify with bystanders and perpetrators than victims. Our conversations suggested that like information recall, people do seem to underestimate their ability to perspective-take, but that stumbling blocks included the respondent's own expectations, lack of previous content knowledge, mistrust of the testimonies' authenticity, and the number and length of the testimonies themselves. Conversely, visual elements, the testimonies, the story format of the presentation and statistics helped encourage both emotion and perspective-taking.

In short, first-person narratives *do* help students move beyond facts and figures to understanding the lived experience of an event or phenomenon, and they can be moved to feel more empathetically toward others with their help. Gaining this kind of insight and compassion is especially important when teaching about war and its consequences, and students have much to learn from those who lived through it. As Laub (1992:72) writes of Holocaust testimonies, "The survival experience…is a very condensed version of most of what life is all about: it contains a great many existential questions, that we manage to avoid in our daily living, often through preoccupation with trivia." However, as elucidated below, thought and care must be taken to use them most effectively.

Recommendations for future research and educators

Future researchers evaluating the efficacy of testimonies in educational settings might want to isolate the narratives, rather than including them in a larger, multimedia presentation. They might also consider a "true" control group, that is, a group whose opinions are tested without any stimulus. For measuring outcomes, I believe the data show that interviews capture participants' recall, emotions and ability to perspective-take in a way that surveys cannot. Surveys can be helpful for gathering opinions, and I would recommend striving for an even bigger sample than the one used in this study. Perhaps an optimal strategy would employ a shorter survey with a larger number of participants for opinion

questions, with a larger sub-set interviewed using a shorter interview protocol (focusing on emotion and perspective-taking).

My experience working on this project leads me to offer several recommendations for educators using testimony, which I outline in the following list:

- Clearly separate retention and opinion discussions, and keep respondents on track to answer that which you need to know.

If a survey is used to test recall, compose clear questions and avoid confusing language or phrasing that asks participants to negate a false statement.

- Use survivor testimonies in which authentic emotion can be easily discerned to engage the audience on an emotional level.

- Learn demographic information about students, and select witnesses who share as much in common with them as possible.

With the college students participating in the study, age seemed particularly important since most remembered testimony was from a survivor recalling a time when he was around their age. Make the commonality clear. To use Frank F.'s testimony as an example, the slide could say, "Separated From Father From Ages 11-15" or "Interned From Ages 9-14" on the slide. A testimony from an internee

who was “evacuated” from college into a camp (or unable to attend in the first place) would likely be moving for a college audience.

- Use a small number of testimonies that go further in-depth, versus a greater number of brief testimonies.

- Use more testimonies that describe the phenomenon in detail.

In my presentation, only Frank Y’s testimony described a concrete in-camp experience, the mess hall food. Additional accounts of daily life would help students better imagine themselves there, and likely prevent interpretations that “maybe the conditions in the camps weren’t so bad.”

- Include material that illustrates the wider and long-term consequences of the phenomenon at hand.

Respondents mentioned lost businesses and ruined property often. Dylan, who admitted to feeling “informed rather than emotionally moved” suggested that I include more data about internees’ post-camp life. What was it like trying to rebuild a life after years in prison—both for those who returned home and those who were forcibly “relocated”? What effect did lingering racism have on their new lives? Students could benefit from this understanding.

- Provide context for testimonies so that viewers have more than brief snapshot of an experience.

While Frank F.'s testimony about his reunion with a father who did not recognize him was clearly powerful for respondents, explaining the reason for the separation might elevate their understanding of the government's response in the days following the Pearl Harbor bombing. Like many other men thought to be "suspicious," Frank's father, a Japanese immigrant, was arrested by the FBI soon after the attack and was segregated and held camps run by the Department of Justice and the US Army. The rest of the family was interned together at Tule Lake. In another portion of testimony not used in this presentation, Frank explains that his father was in a camp housing only other men (no families) and had no community or activities within the camp. "[T]hey just existed," Frank says. Thus, the story of his family's separation had considerable "depth," and explaining this type of background information would broaden students' understanding of the phenomenon, and likely increase empathy for victims.[122]

- Juxtapositions work well.

Respondents mentioned the government newsreel often, and the disparity between the "official" story and the lived experience of the Japanese.

[122] Information from Densho archive and from personal communication with Tom Ikeda, March 16, 2012.

- Provide students a clear and thorough understanding of the victim, bystander and perpetrators.

Using the topic of Japanese internment as an example, include additional information about Japanese resistance than just law suits filed in court. This could help avoid portraying persecuted groups as mere victims, a concern voiced often in Holocaust literature. Students need to know about the range of responses to evacuation and internment from non-Japanese Americans. How many people spoke out, and what consequences, if any, did they suffer? This is especially important if we want students to consider their own future behavior. Some of my respondents speculated that the average American was unaware of what was happening to the Japanese, but their comments testify to the fact that this information is not taught. For example, Rina said, "you don't really hear about how, 'oh the US people stood up against [the government] and like thought it was wrong.'" Because we need to humanize the righteous, too, use testimonies of dissident voices. Consider real-life documentation to supplement testimonies, such as the "Dear Miss Breed" collection, a cache of letters from interned Japanese children to a cherished librarian back home who initiated correspondence with them.[123] Regarding the perpetrators, offer a detailed overview of the government's motivations. What did the propaganda effort entail? What information did they have to support their claims?

[123] See http://janmstore.com/dearmissbreed.html.

- Adjust student expectations before the lesson begins.

Taking the perspective of another does not mean that you know *exactly* what their experience, and internal response to it, entailed, or that you run through those same emotions yourself. Similarly, prepare students to encounter survivor narratives by explaining that factual accuracy is secondary to receiving the testimony of the witness, as he or she experienced it.

- Discourage students from comparing tragedies across history and continents.

Particularlize events, their antecedents and their consequences as much as possible.

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Appendices List

Appendix A: Sample PowerPoint and narration script

Internment and Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II

DENSHŌ

Japanese American Legacy Project

1

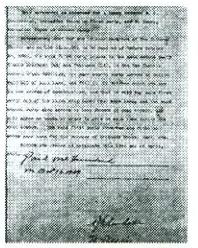
Japanese Immigration to America 1880s - 1924

Loggers - 1915

Church group, Seattle, WA - 1909

2

Discriminatory Laws



Land Lease Agreement - 1909

3

Emergence of U.S.-born Japanese Americans

Farm in Washington, 1933

Japanese American student group. Goal: develop an understanding of "the highest ideals of Japan and America."

May 1941, Seattle WA

4

5

Aki Kurose

Born 1925
Seattle, WA

Aki recalls her experience immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

6

U.S. Government Response to Pearl Harbor Attack

Government confiscation of cameras and radios from Japanese in America.

7

December 7, 1941 – February 1942

INS arrests and "internment camps" for "enemy aliens."

Hearing notice

Department of Justice camp

8

March – October 1942

Mass "Evacuation"

110,000+ Japanese & Japanese Americans removed from West Coast by executive order.

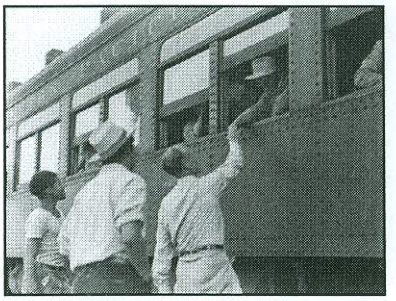
Inmates went to "assembly centers" and then, detention facilities.

9

Distributed and Exhibited
Under the Auspices of the
WAR ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
OF THE MOTION PICTURE
INDUSTRY

Government news reel

10



Kara Kondo

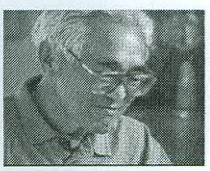
Born 1913
Yakima Valley, WA

Kara describes her thoughts upon her family's removal from home.

13

Baggage inspection at the
Turlock Assembly Center, California, 1942

15



Mas Watanabe

Born 1923
Seattle, WA

Mas describes confinement at the Puyallup Fairgrounds, temporarily named "Camp Harmony."

16

Effects of Removal

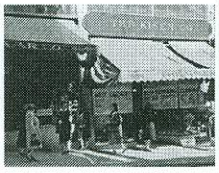
- Significant financial losses for Japanese Americans
- Vandalism to Japanese property
- Abandoned neighborhoods and retail districts

Boarded-up business districts

Desecrated cemetery

18

Farmer forced to give up farm, 1942



Shop closing, 1942

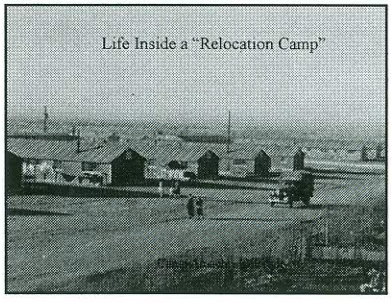
19

Frank Yamasaki

Born 1923
Seattle, WA

Frank discusses the forced closing of Japanese businesses.

20



Minidoka incarceration camp, Idaho - 1944

22

Mutsu Homma

Born 1911
Tono City,
Iwate-ken, Japan

Immigrated to the U.S. in 1929

Mutsu recalls an exchange with a young camp guard.

23

Worship community in an internment camp.

24

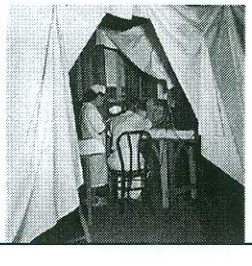
Frank Yamasaki

Born 1923
Seattle, WA

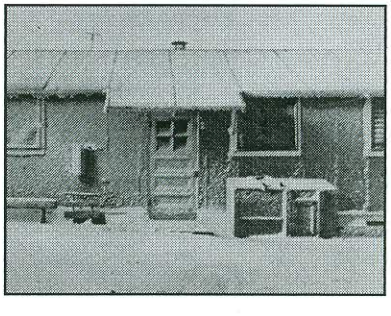
Frank discusses food in the camp mess hall.

25

Makeshift medical treatment
Manzanar Camp, California, 1942



26



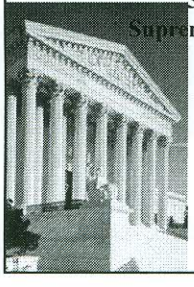
Block 42 Baseball Team
Minidoka incarceration camp, Idaho

Wedding at Tule Lake incarceration camp, California, 1943

29

Mother and son in makeshift graveyard Minidoka camp, Idaho, 1944

30



3 Important Supreme Court Rulings

- Gordon Hirabayashi
- Fred Korematsu
- Minoru Yasui

31

The question of loyalty.

Question #27:
Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question #28:
Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

33

Frank Fuji

Born 1930
Seattle, WA

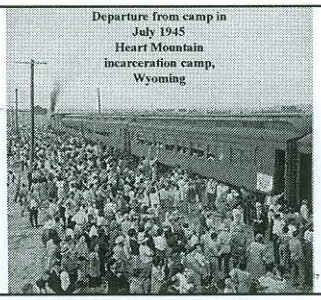
Frank recalls reuniting with his father in the camp.

34

35

Incarcerees being inspected upon release from Gila River incarceration camp, Arizona, 1945

36



Departure from camp in July 1945 Heart Mountain incarceration camp, Wyoming

Harvey Watanabe

Born in 1919

Exeter, CA

Harvey describes his family's return "home" from camp.

38

Resettlement

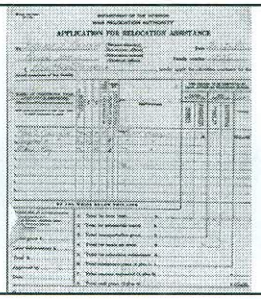
Release from prison: $25 and one-way transportation.

Image of a white shopkeeper pointing to a sign that says, "WE DON'T WANT ANY JAPS BACK HERE – EVER!" that was used in this study has been removed for publication due to copyright issues.

39

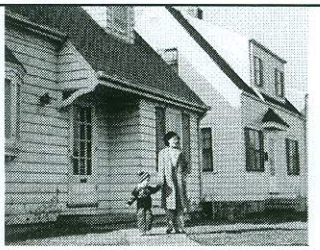
Vandalism at the Nichiren Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles, California, 1944

40



APPLICATION FOR RELOCATION ASSISTANCE

41



WRA resettlement image
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1944

42

Grassroots Redress Movement

begins in 1973 and includes:

- a nationwide education effort
- citizens who lobby Congress for apology and restitution

43

Congressional Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians

Finding: No military necessity for the mass incarceration of Japanese in America during WWII.

44

Civil Liberties Act - 1988

Apology and Restitution

Japanese Americans who were incarcerated received:

- A presidential apology
- $20,000 restitution payment

The content of this presentation is from the Densho Digital Archive, a free online resource for teachers and students: www.densho.org

DENSHŌ

Japanese American Legacy Project

47

Video Group PowerPoint Narration

My name is Susan Legere, I'm a sociology grad student here and my visit with you today is part of my dissertation research. I'm studying the effectiveness of different kinds of educational strategies and will be using PowerPoint.

Unfortunately because this is a research situation that will be replicated in other classes, I'll be reading from a script and can't stop for questions. But, if you're curious about the topic, you can find a lot of information on the Web site of the non-profit group I'm working with in Washington state called Densho (densho.org). My material was collected and researched by their staff; I took the text for this presentation from their site.

My research includes surveys and interviews. I'm going to pass out short, one-page surveys before and after the presentation today. PARTICIPATING IN THE SURVEY IS COMPLETELY VOLUNTARY. If you do not wish to participate, simply write "NOT INTERESTED" on the top of the sheets; it will not affect your grade or relationship with your professor or with BC.

Here is the first survey…please fill out and turn it over once you've finished.

(COLLECT SURVEYS BEFORE STARTING)

My presentation is on the Internment and Incarceration of Japanese Americans in America during World War II.

Please slow me down or tell me to speak up if I'm going too fast or speaking too quietly.

Slide 2
First, some background on Japanese immigration to the US.

Japanese began arriving in America at the end of the 19th century, when workers were recruited to meet the growing need for low-wage laborers in the Territory of Hawaii and on the West Coast.

Trade relations with Japan began in 1853, but anti-Asian sentiment resulted in an agreement between Japan and the US which halted the immigration of workers from Japan in 1908.
The 1924 Immigration Act cut off immigration from Japan to the United States all together.

Slide 3
Asians at this time faced a discriminatory climate in America.

Unlike other immigrants, Japanese and other Asians were not permitted to become naturalized American citizens until 1952.

Naturalization was limited to, and I quote, "free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." Despite many attempts, Japanese immigrants were usually rejected on the grounds that they were neither white nor black.

A 1922 Supreme Court case cemented their status as, and I quote, "aliens ineligible for citizenship." In the early 1900s, many states enacted laws aimed at Japanese immigrant farmers, which prevented ownership of land by people who did not qualify for citizenship.

As a result, many leased land from white farmers.

You can see one of these lease agreements in this photo.

Slide 4
As Japanese immigrants started families in the US, a second generation of Japanese began to grow up in America who felt the pull of two cultures. They were American born, attended public schools, and were influenced by American popular culture as most other children of their generation. Yet, most grew up in Japanese neighborhoods and their parents taught them the customs and values of the old country.

Slide 5
Fast forward to 1941. The Pearl Harbor military base in Hawaii was bombed by Japan on December 7th. Over 3500 servicemen were wounded or killed as a result.

Slide 6
Now we'll hear a testimony from Aki.

Slide 7
The response of the US government to the Pearl Harbor attack was swift.

Hawaii is put under Martial Law; the US declares War against Japan on December 8th.

As this picture suggests, FBI agents raided Japanese American homes, confiscating short wave radios, cameras, and books, ostensibly to prevent treasonous activities. It is important to note that there are no documented cases of Japanese Americans taking part in such activities.

In fact, a report commissioned by President Roosevelt in November of 1941 determined that the great majority of Japanese Americans did not pose a threat to national security in the event of war with Japan. But the government still worried about sabotage and espionage among the Japanese community in the US.

Slide 8
Immediately after the attack, the FBI began arresting aliens of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry.

Although they had not been charged with specific crimes, these "enemy aliens" as they were called, were considered dangerous and were interned in special Department of Justice camps.

More than 5,500—mostly male—Japanese immigrants (about 12% of the West Coast Japanese population) were arrested and sent to these camps, like the camp at Fort Missoula, Montana you see in the photo on the right.

They were given hearings with the Alien Enemy Hearing Board to determine their loyalty so they could be placed into the proper camp. On the left is a hearing notice.

Those whose hearing identified them as "suspicious" were kept in the Department of Justice camps; others were sent to War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, which were civilian-run.

Many second-generation Japanese Americans vividly recall their fathers being hauled off by FBI agents to unidentified destinations for an unknown duration, while they became the de-facto family leader and a representative of their community.

Slide 9
In March of 1942, the government widened their targeted focus from “enemy aliens” – that is, immigrants—to the general Japanese population and began what they called their “evacuation” from the West Coast after the president signed Executive Order 9066 in February.

The order allowed the government to designate military areas from which, and I quote, "any and all persons may be excluded." Of the approximately 110,000 “evacuated,” 2/3 were American citizens.
There were no hearings this time.

Slide 10
This is a news reel created by the government used to explain the evacuation.

Slide 11
First, people were sent to what were called “assembly centers.” There were 16 assembly centers in California, Washington, Oregon, and Arizona. Here a family has reported to a Civil Control Station in Oakland, California and is then shown to a bus that will take them to an assembly center.

Slide 12
Met by armed soldiers at designated locations, the Japanese began the journey to the temporary assembly centers that was a difficult and disorienting experience.

This photo was taken in California in 1942 and depicts evacuees saying goodbye en route to an Assembly Center 125 miles away.

Slide 13
Now we’ll hear a testimony from Kara.

Slide 14
Each person is this photo, taken in Washington state in 1942, is wearing a numbered identification tag.

Slide 15
This photo was taken at an assembly center in California.

The original caption states that “their hand- baggage is being inspected for contraband before being admitted into the assembly center.”

Slide 16
Now we'll hear a testimony from Mas.

Slide 17
When the evacuees arrived at their new homes—often hastily refurbished fairgrounds and racetracks—they were shocked to see barbed-wire fences, guard towers, and searchlights. People were housed in animal stalls and barracks with communal bathrooms and mess halls.

Shortages of food and deplorable sanitation were common.

This is a photo of Camp Harmony, formerly a fair ground.

Slide 18
Evacuation of the Japanese led to serious and specific implications for the communities in which they had lived.

Property was vandalized.

Once-thriving "Japantowns," like the one in Seattle in 1942 pictured here on the right, emptied out.

Slide 19
The Japanese themselves suffered enormous financial losses. Here on the left is a farmer in San Jose who was forced to close his farm. In the photo on the right is a scene that was typical in Japanese business districts—going out-of-business signs advertising extreme discounts.

Slide 20
Now we'll hear a testimony from Frank.

Slide 21
After staying in assembly centers for up to 6 months, the Japanese were then moved in 1942 to permanent War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, which were civilian controlled detention facilities.

As before, the journey was bewildering. Incarcerees were transported in buses and trains to desolate regions of the country guarded by armed soldiers. Forced to keep the window shades drawn, they were unaware of where they were going, and were often shocked by the harsh landscape upon arrival.

The camps housed approximately 120,000 people and were designed to be self-contained communities.

Slide 22
The camps were organized in "blocks" consisting of twelve to fourteen barracks, a mess hall, communal showers and toilets, laundry facilities, and a recreation hall. Each barrack was divided into four or six rooms with each room housing one family, no matter how large, and there was no running water.

The furnishings that incarcerees found on their arrival were canvas cots, a potbellied stove, and a single bare light bulb.

Incarcerees improved their own living conditions by creating interior walls and partitions, constructing furniture from scrap lumber, and planting gardens.

Slide 23
Now we'll hear a testimony from Mutsu.

Slide 24
Japanese Americans used religion as one way to handle the stress of the incarceration experience.
On Sundays, Buddhist and Christian services and Sunday schools were held in the recreation halls. State Shintoism was another popular religion within the Japanese American community but was banned by the U.S. government on the grounds that it included "Emperor worship." Church services initially were given in both Japanese and English, but camp authorities later banned the use of Japanese at all group gatherings (although translation into Japanese was later permitted at some religious services).

Slide 25
Now we'll hear a testimony from Frank.

Slide 26
Medical and dental facilities were for the most part inadequate, lacking in both equipment and staff.
Incarcerees recall outbreaks of food poisoning, tuberculosis and dysentery epidemics, and preventable deaths of patients and newborns.

Slide 27
The thin walls offered little protection from the harsh weather, which ranged from 110 degrees in the summer to 25 degrees below zero on winter nights.

Slide 28
The WRA attempted to establish normalcy by setting up newspapers, a degree of self-government, sports leagues, and social events.

Slide 29
This was a wedding party.

Slide 30
Here you can see a cemetery inside Minidoka incarceration camp in Idaho, 1944. The rocks in the background were probably used for grave markers. The tombstone shown here was more elaborate than most.

This graveyard no longer exists. When incarceration camps were closed, Japanese Americans often exhumed the remains of family members for reburial back home.

Slide 31
Resistance to exclusion and incarceration took many different forms: non-compliance with exclusion orders and concomitant court cases challenging them, refusal to obey draft orders, labor strikes, and individual and group protests within the camps.

The three Japanese Americans listed on the screen refused to comply with exclusion and were subsequently arrested. Together, these resisters and their court cases tested two distinct yet intertwined constitutional issues:

- the legality of military orders on civilians (curfew, in particular), especially as they were selectively applied on the basis of race; and
- the legality of exclusion, again selectively applied on the basis of race.

In all three cases the litigants lost at the trial court level and appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court ultimately upheld the three men's convictions and ruled that curfew orders and exclusion were constitutional, though their convictions were overturned in the 1980's.

Slide 32
The question of "loyalty" was a recurrent theme for Japanese in America throughout the war years. Beginning with the arrests of immigrants deemed "enemy aliens" right after Pearl Harbor, mistrust of Japanese endured even after the war ended.

After mass evacuation to incarceration camps, the War Authority administered a mandatory loyalty questionnaire to all over the age of 17.

This was designed to assist in the military draft of men inside the camp, and facilitate a work and school release program.

Slide 33
This is a photo of a so-called "loyalty questionnaire."

The questionnaires contained two questions, one asking about a willingness to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered. The other asked them to swear allegiance to and defend the US and foreswear allegiance to Japan or any other foreign power.

This caused confusion and controversy because they were given to both immigrants (not citizens) and those were US citizens—so for either party, there was a question that did not apply.

Government officials and others generally considered those who answered “no” to these two questions to be “disloyal” to the US, and they were transferred to a segregation camp with heightened security.

Loyalty would become a more serious issue for some 5500+ American citizens of Japanese descent during the War, when they renounced their US citizenship.

The renunciations took place between December ‘44 and July ‘45. The vast majority of renunciations had little to do with "disloyalty" to the U.S., but instead were the result of a series of complex conditions and events that were beyond the control of those involved. After a legal battle, most renunciants had their U.S. citizenship restored in the 1960s.

Slide 34
Now we’ll hear a testimony from Frank.

Slide 35
The concept of loyalty becomes more complex and in many ways ironic when considered in the context of military service. The War Department imposed the draft on Japanese American men in January of 1944. Many men were drafted directly out of the camps and fought for democracy abroad while their parents and families were incarcerated by their own government.

Slide 36
The war with Japan ended when Japan surrendered in 1945, after the US dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Before being allowed to leave camp, the incarcerees were inspected, as depicted in this photo from this incarceration camp in Arizona.

The internees got ration books, travel vouchers and a Relocation Grant upon release.

Slide 37
(No narration)

Slide 38
Now we'll hear a testimony from Harvey.

Slide 39
Harassment was common.

This photo, taken in 1944 during the resettlement period, shows a barber from Kent, Washington, pointing to his sign.

Slide 40
Others discovered their property had been vandalized or stolen. Homes and businesses that had been boarded up or left in the care of others were abandoned and stripped of furnishings and goods.

For the majority, who did not have homes to return to, housing was the most serious problem. Housing discrimination was severe in many areas and persisted to varying degrees until the civil rights legislation of the 1960s. Former incarcerees with no other options moved into hostels and converted community institutions with conditions not much better than the camps they had just left.

Slide 41
This was an application for relocation assistance and enabled the signee to get her $25 resettlement grant for herself and her two sons.

Slide 42
Those who were allowed to leave the camps for "resettlement" could not return to the West Coast; they were told to move to the eastern and northern areas of the US. The WRA strongly encouraged the departing incarcerees to become more "American" and blend in with the local white population. WRA officials distributed photographs and articles depicting happy families enjoying their new surroundings. In reality, the "resettlement" period was not without hardships for many Japanese Americans.

This woman and her family shared the house with another family.

Slide 43
In the late 1960s, Japanese Americans began to revisit the history of the exclusion and incarceration period in order to seek justice for their suffering and ensure that no such wrong would ever be committed again.

These are some of the members of the Seattle Evacuation Redress Committee, which formed in 1973. They were photographed in 1990.

Slide 44
This photo was taken in Seattle in 1981 during one of the many the Redress Hearings held in 20 cities in the country. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was created by an act of Congress on July 30, 1980. The group was formed mainly to investigate matters surrounding the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans and to recommend remedies –but had no power to correct grievances.

Slide 45
Years of effort by community activists, politicians, academics, and others culminated on August 10, 1988, with the signing of the Civil Liberties Act by President Ronald Reagan. This Act rescinded Executive Order 9066, and mandated an official apology from the federal government, monetary reparations payments to individuals excluded and incarcerated, and the creation of a federal fund for research and education about the incarceration.

Slide 46
On October 9, 1990, more than two years after the passage of the bill, the first of the redress payments were made in a formal ceremony to elderly survivors in Washington, D.C. Similar ceremonies were held in cities across the country.

This photo was taken in Seattle at a ceremony honoring five first-generation Japanese Americans who were 100 years old or more. Here, the Assistant Deputy Attorney General presents a redress check to a 105 year-old man.

While few of those who were incarcerated feel that the government's apology erases what was done, many believe that a formal admission of wrongdoing helped resolve feelings of shame and corrected misperceptions held by the larger society.

Slide 47

Thank you for listening. I'm going to pass out the last survey for you to fill it out. I'm also passing around a sign up sheet for those who would like to be considered for interviews. PLEASE REMEMBER TO PUT YOUR NAME ON THE SURVEY.

Appendix B: Treatment Group Composition chart

Treatment Group Composition

Treatment Groups					
Group	**College**	**Class**	**Discipline**	**Surveys**	**Interviewees**
Control	BC	Technology & Society	Sociology	18	Evan, Marcel, Jane
Control	BC	Important Readings in Sociology	Sociology	7	
Control	BC	Planet in Peril	Sociology	1	
Control	BC	Research Methods	Sociology	10	Gary, Anne, Ethel
Control	BSU	Morality & the Natural World	Philosophy	12	Donny
Total				**48**	
Video	BC	Poverty in America	Sociology	25	Gina, Elle, Pradeep
Video	BC	Sociology of Pop Culture	Sociology	28	Matt, Liam
Video	BC	Sociology of HIV/AIDS	Sociology	28	Dylan
Video	BSU	Morality & the Natural World	Philosophy	9	Bonnie
Total				**90**	
Written	BC	Crime & Social Justice	Sociology	13	James, Chris
Written	BC	Statistics	Sociology	25	Peter
Written	BC	Introductory Sociology	Sociology	26	Scarlet, Rina, Crystal
Written	BSU	Morality & the Natural World	Philosophy	12	Alan
Total				**76**	

Appendix C: Survey

Please <u>print</u> your <u>full</u> name clearly:

_____

***Introduction**: Thank you for participating in my survey. My research examines how people respond to information presented in different ways. I am particularly interested in how participants evaluate information about events or situations that raise questions about freedom and identity.*

Instructions: All items on this survey are written as statements. Please circle the number or response that best describes <u>your own opinion</u> regarding each statement. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. America is a land of opportunity in which any person can achieve success, so long as he or she works hard enough.
Circle one number.

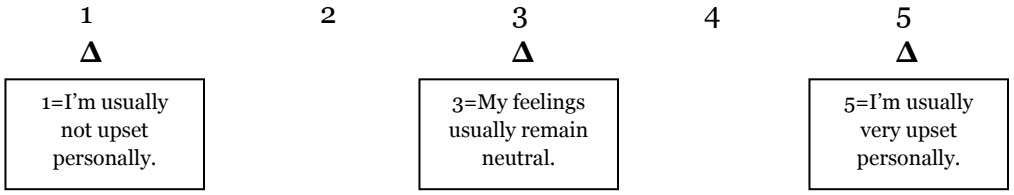
1	2	3	4	5
Δ		**Δ**		**Δ**
1=I strongly disagree.		3=I neither agree nor disagree.		5=I strongly agree.

2. Major historical events in the 50 years before my birth—such as WWII, the discovery of AIDS, the Civil Rights movement, or the invention of the personal computer—have had an impact on my individual life, and the person I am today, that is best described as…
Circle one number.

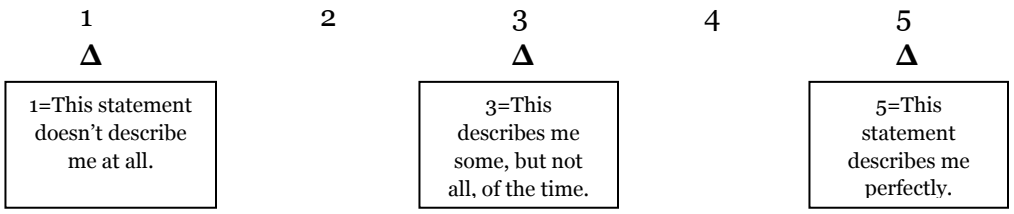
1	2	3	4	5
Δ		**Δ**		**Δ**
1=Little or no impact.		3=Likely some impact.		5=A significant impact

We all encounter events that might be considered unfair to another person or group. The next set of questions ask about how you most often react in those situations.

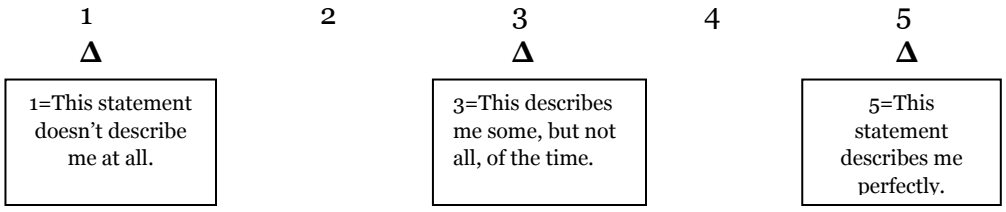
3. My typical emotional response to stories about injustice to others is:
Circle one number.



4. Learning about an injustice usually makes me wish I could do something to fix it.
Circle one number.



5. My first reaction when I learn about a person or group who is wronged is to wonder what they did to provoke the situation.
Circle one number.



The following questions ask for your opinion about the personal rights and freedoms that people should have in different situations. As before, there are no right and wrong answers.

6. The protections afforded to citizens under the US Constitution should also apply to non-citizens.
Circle one answer.

AGREE DISAGREE IT DEPENDS

7. The following rights should always be provided to a <u>US citizen</u> imprisoned by the United States.
Circle one answer for each item.

Knowledge of the charge against them	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Legal representation	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Contact with family members	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Provisions to practice their religion	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS

8. The following rights should always be provided to a <u>non-citizen</u> imprisoned by the United States.
Circle one answer for each item.

Knowledge of the charge against them	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Legal representation	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Contact with family members	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Provisions to practice their religion	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS

9. The government should be able to consider people's racial/ethnic characteristics when determining whether to label them as "criminally suspicious."
Circle one answer.

AGREE DISAGREE IT DEPENDS

10. A person detained by the US government who is later found to be innocent should be entitled to:
Circle one answer for each option.

Nothing – (it's an unfortunate consequence of keeping America safe)	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
An official apology	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Financial compensation	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
Non-financial assistance of some kind	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS
The legal opportunity to sue the US government	AGREE	DISAGREE	IT DEPENDS

In certain special circumstances, such as in times of national crisis or war, the US government may use different rules to determine which rights people can have. The next questions ask <u>your opinion</u> about what rights people should have in ordinary times and in special, unusual circumstances.

11. *In a time of peace*, to what extent do you approve of the US government limiting each of the following rights?
Circle one answer on the scale for each item.

	1=Strongly Disapprove				5=Strongly Approve
Your right to speak freely	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to travel	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to live wherever you choose	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to keep your property	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to practice your religion	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to legal representation	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to privacy	1	2	3	4	5

12. *In a time of war or national crisis*, to what extent do you approve of the US government limiting each of the following rights?
Circle one answer on the scale for each item.

	1=Strongly Disapprove				5=Strongly Approve
Your right to speak freely	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to travel	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to live wherever you choose	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to keep your property	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to practice your religion	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to legal representation	1	2	3	4	5
Your right to privacy	1	2	3	4	5

Now let's turn to a specific historical event.

Japan bombed a US military base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941. Within 48 hours of the attack, President Roosevelt declared war against Japan and the FBI arrested more than 1,200 leaders in America's Japanese community. Beginning in March of 1942, the US government then removed more than 110,000 Japanese living in Western portions of the United States and relocated them to camps inside the nation's interior. The "internment" of Japanese in these camps ended in 1946. The next questions ask about your previous knowledge and way of thinking about these events.

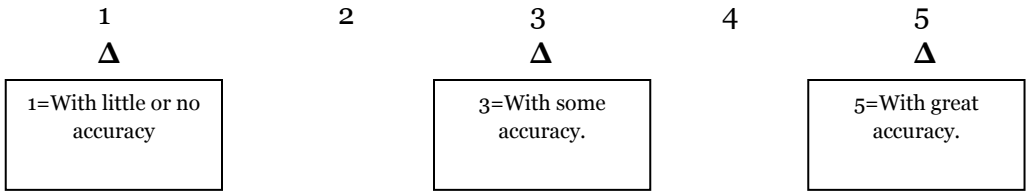
13. Please indicate your knowledge about the internment of Japanese in America during WWII.
Circle one number.

1	2	3	4	5
Δ		**Δ**		**Δ**
1=No knowledge.		3=Some knowledge.		5=Quite a lot of knowledge.

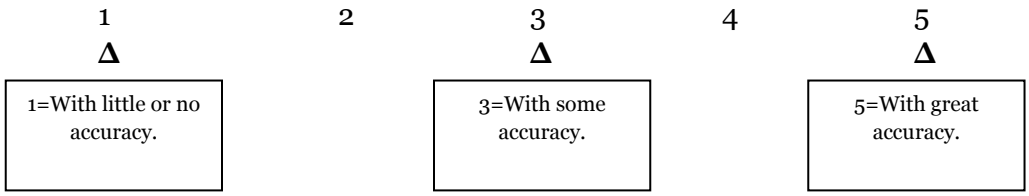
14. The majority of those interned were *Japanese citizens* who happened to be living in America at the time.
Circle one answer.

TRUE FALSE I DON'T KNOW

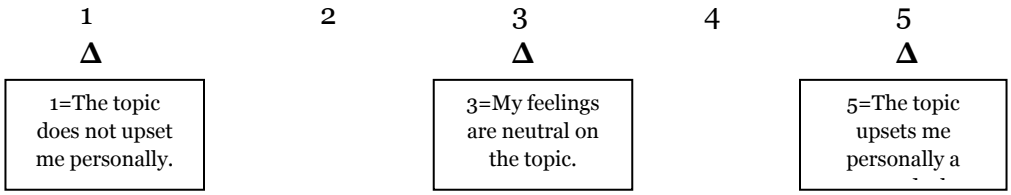
15. I think I can imagine the <u>experiences</u> of the Japanese people in the internment camps.
Circle one number.



16. I think I can imagine the <u>emotions</u> of the Japanese people in the internment camps.
Circle one number.

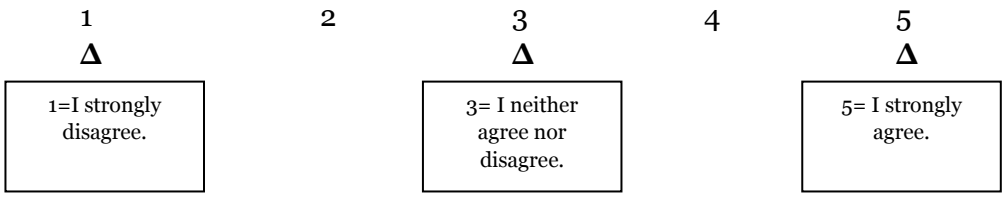


17. Thinking about the topic of Japanese internment during WWII has the following effect on my emotions:
Circle one number.



These last two questions concern <u>your opinion</u> about the Japanese internment policy itself. Again, there are no right or wrong answers.

18. I think the US government accomplished its goal of making the country safer by interning the Japanese while it was at war with Japan.
Circle one.



19. The internment of the Japanese in America during WWII was:
Circle one.

- Fundamentally right
- Basically right, but implemented wrongly
- Problematic, but necessary
- Fundamentally wrong

Thank you very much for completing the survey.

Appendix D: Copyright permission letter

April 6, 2012

Tom Ikeda
Executive Director
Densho
1416 South Jackson Street
Seattle, WA 98144

Dear Mr. Ikeda:

As you know, my dissertation study, "Narratives of Injustice: Measuring the Impact of Witness Testimony in the Classroom" used images, ideas and text from Densho's web site and archive. The material was presented to undergraduates in a PowerPoint presentation (of which there were three near-identical versions), who were then surveyed and interviewed about their response. A sample copy of the Powerpoint and narration used in the study is included in the email with this letter.

I am writing to formally request your permission to reproduce and include the images, ideas and text, as they are represented in the PowerPoint, in an appendix to the dissertation. The dissertation will be published online through ProQuest, available in full text through eScholarship@BC, and possibly available through institutions such as the Boston College Center for Christian Jewish Learning.

If the following statement applies, would you please initial below, and sign at the bottom of this letter (above your name)?

_____I, Tom Ikeda, hereby represent that I have the authority to grant the permission requested herein, with the exception of the shopkeeper photo in Slide 39, which is owned by Corbis Images.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Susan Legere, Ph.D.
358 Boston Road
Chelmsford, MA 01824

Tom Ikeda ,Executive Director
Densho
1416 South Jackson Street
Seattle, WA 98144

Appendix E: Research Participant Data Sheet

Please print clearly in blue/black ink – thank you!

Name:

Gender:

Race:

Ethnicity:

Religion:

Country/ies in which you hold citizenship:

Country/state in which you were raised (or lived the longest before attending BC):

Class year (circle one):
Freshman
Sophomore
Junior
Senior

Major/s:

Minor/s:

Appendix F: Institutional Review Board approval letter

BOSTON COLLEGE
Institutional Review Board
Office for Research Protections
Waul House, 3rd Floor
Phone: (617) 552-4778, fax: (617) 552-0498

IRB Protocol Number: 10.096.01e

DATE: October 5, 2009

TO: Susan Legere

CC: Paul Gray

FROM: Office of Research Protections

RE: Assessing the Power of Personal Testimony

Notice of Evaluation – [Exempt 45 CRF 46. 101(b)] 45 CFR 46.101(2)

The Office for Research Protections (ORP) has evaluated the project named above. According to the information provided, you intend to assess the effectiveness of different educational methods through administering surveys and conducting interviews with Boston College undergraduate students enrolled in sociology courses. This is a minimal risk study.

This study has been granted an exemption from Boston College IRB review in accordance with 45 CFR 46.101 (b) 45 CFR 46.101(2). This designation is based on the assumption that the materials that you submitted to the ORP contain a complete and accurate description of all the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research.

This exemption is given with the following conditions:

1. You will conduct the project according to the plans and protocol you submitted;
2. No further contact with the ORP is necessary unless you make changes to your project or adverse events or injuries to subjects occur;
3. If you propose to make any changes in the project, you must submit the changes to the ORP for IRB review; you will not initiate any changes until they have been reviewed and approved by the IRB;
4. If any adverse events or injuries to subjects occur, you will report these immediately to the ORP.

The University appreciates your efforts to conduct research in compliance with the federal

regulations that have been established to ensure the protection of human subjects in research.

Date of Exemption: October 05, 2009

Sincerely,

Stephen Erickson
Interim Director
Office for Research Protections

coc

Appendix G: Introductory comments given to professors

One of my Boston College colleagues, Susan Legere, will be visiting our class in the near future as a guest lecturer. She is studying the effectiveness of different educational strategies, and her visit is part of her dissertation research in sociology.

She will be showing a multimedia presentation, and passing out surveys to you before and after the presentation.

Her lecture will take the place of the regular class lecture, but

YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SURVEY IS PURELY VOLUNTARY.

IF YOU AR NOT INTERESTED, SIMPLY WRITE "NOT INTERESTED" ON THE SURVEYS *and leave it blank* – OPTING OUT OF THE SURVEY WILL NOT EFFECT YOUR GRADE IN THE CLASS, YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ME, OR YOUR RELATIONSIHP WITH THE UNIVERSITY.

Susan will also be seeking volunteers from those who completed the surveys for an in-depth interview at a later date this semester. If you're chosen for an interview, you will be paid $30 for your time.

Right now I'm going to hand out consent forms. If you are interested in participating, please read it, sign it, and initial it. Then fill out the data sheet.

[Please collect the forms from them right away.]

Appendix H: Survey consent form

Boston College Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Department of Sociology
Informed Consent for Participation as a Research Subject
in Study Assessing the Effectiveness of Educational Strategies (Part I)
Investigator: Susan Legere
October 2009

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a dissertation research study that will evaluate the effectiveness of different types of educational strategies. Your professor invited me to present my research to your class, but your participation in my survey is completely voluntary. If you do not wish to participate in the survey, simply write "not interested" on the top of each survey sheet.

Purpose of Study:

The study's purpose is to assess different educational methods through surveys and in-depth interviews. Participants in this study are all undergraduates

Description of the Study Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will fill out a survey before and after today's presentation. You may also volunteer to be considered for an in-depth interview at a later date by leaving your name and contact information with me before the end of class. The interview will take place on or close to campus at a location of mutual convenience to you and to me.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study:

You may find the history featured in the presentation disturbing, possibly even sad. Otherwise there are no known risks associated with this research project.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

You may be exposed to aspects of past and recent U.S. history previously unknown to you, and you may gain new insights from perspectives on the events and policies discussed in this study.

Payments:

You will not be paid for your participation in the survey portion of this study. However, if you are chosen as an interview participant, you will be given a $30 cash equivalent gift card as a thank you for your time. Your name will also be entered into a drawing for a gift certificate to a restaurant near campus after all the interviews have been completed.

.

Costs:

There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

- The records of this study will be kept private and locked in a cabinet off campus. A copy of the data will be stored in a locked file cabinet in my office inside of the Lonergan Center in Bapst Library at Boston College. In any report I may publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant.
- Primary access to the records will be limited to me; however, please note that the faculty on my dissertation committee, the Institutional Review Board and internal Boston College auditors may also review my research records.
- All recorded interviews will be transcribed by me and by a transcription agency, who will receive the audio file of our conversation bearing your first name and the initial of your last name over the Internet using File Transfer Protocol

Subject's Initials___

software. Content of the interviews will be used in the report, presented in the dissertation defense, and will be shared with interested non-profit agencies for educational purposes. The dissertation may be submitted for publication and/or presented at conferences before or after its defense. Participants' full real names will not be published or shared with non-profits or conference attendees.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:
Your participation in the survey is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, or to stop in the middle, it will **not** affect your current or future relations with the University or your professor or jeopardize your grade in his/her class in any way. You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.

Contacts and Questions:

- The researcher conducting this study is Susan Legere. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact her at legeres@bc.edu or (617) 548-1767.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Director, Office for Human Research Participant Protection, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:
You may request a copy of this form to keep for future reference.

Statement of Consent:
I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____

(Sign Name): _____

Date _____

A scanned copy of the signed form can be sent to you via email upon request.

Appendix I: Interview protocol

The following list represents the kind of questions that will be asked during 1:1 in-depth interviews with a subset of my survey participants.

1) PRESENTATION-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

Can you tell me what you remember about the presentation?

There's often confusion about the citizenship of the people interned in the camps. Do you recall if the internees were mostly American or mostly Japanese citizens?

In the aftermath of such an attack on US soil, do you think the citizenship of the person detained matters? Why or why not?

Had you ever learned about Japanese internment in school, or any other context?

- If so, what were you taught?
- What was the context of the lesson (history class, social studies, etc?)
- If you learned about other aspects of WWII, what sort of attention did this topic receive in relation to those topics, such as the Holocaust?

Can you recall the emotions you felt while participating in any part of this study?

For those who saw or read testimony: what thoughts or emotions did the personal stories evoke? What do you think the addition of the witness accounts brings, if anything, to a presentation like this?

For those who DID NOT see or read testimony: supposing the presentation incorporated some comments from those who were interned in the camps. Do you think hearing from those who experienced internment would have affected how you think about the issue? Why or why not?

Did anything in the presentation make you question a belief you had, or change your mind about something?

Do you think the government was legitimate in their worry about having the Japanese living on the edges of the country, and near sites like oil wells and ship yards? Why/why not?

Why do you suppose America interned the Japanese en masse, but not the Germans or Italians in America, if the US was at war with all three countries?

Why do you think the American people allowed the government to intern their Japanese neighbors? Do you think they bear any responsibility for what happened? Why or why not?

Sometimes, as in the case of Japanese internment, the government later realizes it made a mistake. What do you think should happen then – if anything?

Do you think something like internment could ever happen again here? If not, why not? If yes, under what circumstances?

2) SURVEY-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

These next set of questions will follow-up on the *specific participant's survey responses*. Here are some examples. Note that this section will be different for every participant.

Why do you think the protections of the Constitution should only apply to US citizens?

When asked if … you answered, "it depends." What does it depend on?

On the question about…I noticed you switched your answer from X to Y. Can you tell me why you changed your answer?

I see you believe that internment made the country safer. How so?

You indicated that you approve of the use of race/ethnicity in labeling someone criminally suspicious. I see that your background is Irish. Supposing Ireland becomes an enemy of the US in the future. Would you be OK with a longer check-in processes at the airport because officials thought you looked Irish, or because you have an Irish last name? Or requiring you and all US citizens who have Irish ancestry to register with the government?

{Then, I'd like to ask them some questions that are more obviously relevant to 9/11…:}

Is it acceptable to require different procedures at airports and other high-risk areas for people who share traits (looks, ethnicity of last name, country of origin, religion, etc) with America's enemy/ies, whoever that happens to be at the time?

What if the person is a US citizen – should that make a difference? Why or why not?

Is the government justified in questioning detainees about their religious practices?

How much information does the government owe the public about arrests, detentions, and deportations that are related to matters of national security?

After 9/11 and similar events in history, the US government re-evaluated some of the rights and protections of its citizens. For example, the Bush Administration began a wiretapping program that allowed them to listen in on communications without a warrant or the person's knowledge. Do you think this should be allowed? What kind of leeway

should be given to the government with regard to the Constitution in matters of national security?

Are there any rights and freedoms that US citizens should be willing to give up in the name of keeping America safe? (change wording for foreign students)

BACKGROUND AND FUTURE BEHAVIOR QUESTIONS

Can you think of any personal experiences in your past or present life that might have influenced how you reacted to the presentation/stories?

Who or what do you think most shaped your belief system?

Do you think you would approach any situation differently as a result of seeing this presentation and thinking about these issues?

Appendix J: Interview consent form

Boston College Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, Department of Sociology
Informed Consent for Participation as a Research Subject in
Study Assessing the Effectiveness of Educational Strategies (Part II)
Investigator: Susan Legere
Date Created: April 2010

Introduction
You were first introduced to my study evaluating the effectiveness of different types of educational strategies in your class during the spring semester 2010. You are here because you volunteered to participate in this second interview phase of the project, but you may discontinue your participation at any time.

Purpose of Study:
The study's purpose is to assess different educational methods through surveys and in-depth interviews. Participants in the study are all undergraduates.

Description of the Study Procedures:
You will participate in a tape-recorded conversation of approximately 1-1.5 hours in length.

You may be contacted briefly at a later date, by email or phone, if I have a question or need further clarification on your interview.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study:
Other than the possible discomfort of being tape-recorded, there are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research project. You are encouraged to pass on any question you do not wish to answer.

Benefits of Being in the Study:
By discussing the presentation showed in your class, you may gain new insight on the event or your attitudes about the event discussed in the presentation. Participation in this study will also provide you with a valuable opportunity to learn about dissertation research. You are encouraged to ask me any questions you may have about graduate school or the social science research enterprise in general.

Payments:
You will be given a $30 cash equivalent gift card as a thank you for your time at the end of the interview. Your name will also be entered into a drawing for a gift certificate to a restaurant near the BC campus after all the interviews have been completed.

Costs:
There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Subject's Initials___

Confidentiality:

- The records of this study will be kept private in a locked location 25 miles from campus. A copy of the data will be stored inside a locked cabinet in my workplace, the Lonergan Center in Bapst Library at Boston College, or locked within the Lonergan house at 4 Quincy Road. In any report I publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant.
- Primary access to the records will be limited to me; however, please note that the faculty on my dissertation committee, the Institutional Review Board and internal Boston College auditors may also review my research records.
- All recorded interviews will be transcribed by myself and/or a transcription agency and/or a research assistant who has undergone IRB training. Audio files will be labeled with the first name and last initial of the interviewee only. Content of the interviews will be used in the report, presented in the dissertation defense, and will be shared with interested non-profit agencies for educational purposes. The dissertation may be submitted for publication and/or presented at conferences before or after its defense. Participants' full names will not be published or shared with non-profits or conference attendees.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:
Your participation in the interview is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, or to stop in the middle, it will **not** affect your current or future relations with the University or your professor or jeopardize your grade in his or her class in any way. You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.

Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is Susan Legere. For questions or more information concerning this research, you may contact her at legeres@bc.edu or (617) 548-1767.

Copy of Consent Form:
You may request a copy of this form to keep for future reference.

Statement of Consent:
I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received, or will receive if I request one, a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name) : _____

Participant or Legal Representative Signature : _____

Date _____

A scanned copy of this signed form can be sent to you via email upon request.

Subject's Initials___

Appendix K: Testimony transcripts

Aki's Testimony

Aki Kurose
Born 1925
Seattle, WA

Aki recalls her experience immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor:

"Well, I had just come home from church. And then we kept hearing, 'Pearl Harbor was bombed, Pearl Harbor was bombed.' I had no idea where Pearl Harbor was. My geography was not that sophisticated. I had no idea, and my father said, 'Uh-oh, there is going to be trouble.' And I said, 'Well, how come?' He said, 'Well, Japan just bombed Pearl Harbor.' And he says, 'We're at war with Japan.' But, I thought, 'Why should it bother me?' You know, 'I'm an American.' And then he said, 'You know, we are aliens.' My parents... 'We don't have the citizenship, so they're gonna do something, we'll probably get taken away.' But at that time, my parents had no feeling that we would be removed because -- so they were saying my brother would have to take on the responsibility to keep the family together, because they may be removed or put into camp or whatever. And, then when I went back to school that following morning, December 8th, one of the teachers said, 'You people bombed Pearl Harbor.' And I'm going, 'My people?' All of a sudden my Japaneseness became very aware to me. And then that I was no longer, I no longer felt I'm an equal American, that I felt kind of threatened and nervous about it. And then the whole time we were now getting the orders, and getting prepared to go to camp and whatever."

Please do not read ahead.

Kara's Testimony

Kara Kondo
Born 1916
Yakima valley, WA

Kara describes her thoughts upon her family's removal from home:

"And it was such an odd feeling, it just... as we pulled out I can remember my father holding onto the arm of the seat, hard seat. The blinds had been drawn, but you could, before they did that you could see the shadow of Mt. Adams and the sun behind it. And looking at his face I could just feel that he was saying goodbye to the place that he'd known so well. Pictures like that just really, when you think about it, were very sad. But it was... it was such a -- it's hard to explain the kind of feeling, the atmosphere of that time.
But... and we went, traveled through the night with the shades drawn and got to Portland livestock center, our evacuation center about, really about dawn. And I stayed until the last person got in the, into the compound and heard the gate clang behind me. And I think -- when people ask what my memory was about evacuation -- I think I'll always remember the sound of the gate clanging behind you and knowing that you were finally under, you had barbed wires around you, and you were really being interned."

Please do not read ahead.

Mas's Testimony

Mas Watanabe
Born 1923
Seattle, WA

Mas describes confinement at the Puyallup Fairgrounds, temporarily named "Camp Harmony":

"I had been to Puyallup a few times when it was the fairgrounds of Western Washington. Little did I know that I would replace the pigs and the cows and that type of stuff, you know, 'cause they, they restructured the fairgrounds and the parking lots into these temporary hovels. And they had a hell of a lot of nerve calling it 'Camp Harmony.' But, anyway, it was... boy, it was a real traumatic type of living, where you're in the former stalls where the pigs and the cows and everything else were. Temporary shacks, just the walls were so many feet off the ground, and families of six and seven were crowded into one little spot. I think intentionally, I forgot a lot of 'Camp Harmony.' I hate to use the word 'harmony,' but it was just not a very good experience."

Please do not read ahead.

Frank Y's Testimony

Frank Yamasaki
Born 1923
Seattle, WA

Frank Y discusses the forced closing of Japanese businesses:

Frank Y: "The... lots of pain, there was a lot of pain there. But there wasn't that much time to reflect, because there was such a short time. We had to get rid of our business. We had to take care of all of our financial affairs. It goes on and on, and with such limited time. And they allowed, I think it was just two suitcases, so what do you do with all your household goods?"

Interviewer: "What happened to your hotel business?"

Frank Y: "We sold it. To give you an example, the two families that had grocery stores, one just outright sold the store for around $400. That's including inventory, cash registers, big freezers and it goes on and on and on. It was worth ten, hundred times more. I don't mean -- considerably more."

Please do not read ahead.

Mutsu's Testimony

Mutsu Homma
Born 1911
Tono City,
Iwate-ken, Japan
Immigrated to the U.S. in 1929

Mutsu recalls an exchange with a young camp guard:

Interviewer: "And then you went to Amache."

Mutsu: "Amache, yes."

Interviewer: "By..."

Mutsu: "Train. Amache camp guarded by very young soldiers. One time soldier stop me and, 'Hey you.' 'You want to talk to me?' He said, 'Yeah. Are you a human being ?' I said, 'Yes. Don't you think so?' 'Yeah. You look like a human being, but when I came from South Carolina, they said that Jap is not a human being. They are like a gorilla so if you want to, kill them. That's what I learned when I came. And then I looked from top every day and you people look like a human being and you people all wearing beautiful clothes.' Because old clothes, we throw that away and then selected one case of, suitcase, good clothes only, so..."

Interviewer: "He was surprised."

Mutsu: "Uh-huh. That's the way it happened."

Please do not read ahead

Frank Y's Testimony

Frank Yamasaki
Born 1923
Seattle, WA

Frank discusses food in the camp mess hall:

Interviewer: "If we could move to the period where you were going to Minidoka, and you said that you had a blank period that it's difficult to recall, but what made the biggest impression on you when you got to Minidoka?"

Frank Y: "It was very, very dusty. The dust was powdery fine and if I recall, it was about 3 or 4 inches deep. So every time you take a step there was just, have a puff of smoke -- I mean of dust -- and if there was even the slightest breeze... wow, you're in a, like a fog. And when you go to the mess hall to eat, of course when you chew the food, you can feel the grit of the sand. And it's amazing, even that, you get used to it. I gradually got used to the mixture of sand and food. [Laughs] It was terrible."

Please do not read ahead

Frank F's Testimony

Frank Fuji
Born 1930
Seattle, WA

Frank recalls reuniting with his father in the camp:

Interviewer: "Well, going back again sort of right before you left, I mean, your father actually, eventually was reunited with you and your mother and your brother in Tule Lake. What was that like?"

Frank F: "Yeah, I think when the Justice Department okayed his release from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Tule Lake and I said, 'Dad's coming back, man.' And then I told Seibo, who was still in camp, 'He's coming back.' And so we knew what day -- they didn't tell us what time. So waiting for a truck to drop him off, and we waited and waited -- and I remember it was in the afternoon, and it was a hot day, and the truck dropped him off, and he had to get off the back, and I grabbed his luggage and I brought it inside. And, now, I didn't see him from '41 December 7th 'til, '44 something, in '44. So that's a few years, and I think when I've grown up so much... I, my body's changed, my looks changed and I'm more a man. I mean, I've grown about 5-6 inches. And so as he looked around the family, Seibo nods and his, my dad's grandson and he looks at Mom. And then some guests that knew him and some people in Tule, Seattle folks that knew him and I think... who else was in camp at that still, Seibo, me, Mom and Kinko. They were all gone in a sense, but the whole scenario was the lot of his peer group, who Dad sort of remembered and didn't, because I think he was, he was too tired that day. But the bad scenario was, as he went around the room, he nodding his head and kinda greeting everybody by looking at them, and kind of saying, 'I think I know you, but, hi, how are you.' But then he points to me, of all people, and he says, 'Who's this boy?' And, you know, that, that really shook me. But I, I never forgot that, because I felt loss at that time. And I think that mental part of it all, that's what, I think the effect of camp does to you. It isn't the other monetary kind of things that get to you. 'Cause you could always sort of adjust. But the loss of a family tie. It was tough."

Please do not read ahead

Harvey's Testimony

Harvey Watanabe
Born in 1919
Exeter, CA

Harvey describes his family's return "home" from camp:

Interviewer: "What happened to your family's home when they were evacuated?"

Harvey: "It was leased. The farm was leased. But the lessee just stole everything. Didn't continue to farm and then left the house vacant so then the vandals got in and got rid, vandalized all of our personal property that was stored in the attic of the house. All the photographs and everything were all... gone. The lessee had stripped it of all the appliances and everything. Plumbing and appliances were stripped out of the house. The horses were sold. The farm implements were sold."

Interviewer: "That must have been very hard for your parents to hear."

Harvey: "Well, under the circumstances, yeah, very hard. But they didn't know about it for the longest time. They didn't know about it 'til they got back."

Appendix L: Counseling form

Still want to talk?

The issues presented in this study may have evoked sad or upsetting feelings. A trained and compassionate ear can be found easily on campus. Two free options are available to you as a BC student:

- **University Counseling Services** Appointments can be made by phone or in person. Call (617) 552-3310, (617)552-3927 or (617)552-4210 and speak to the Administrative Assistant. Or, stop in at any of their offices (Gasson 108, Fulton 254, Campion 301) and ask to make an appointment. Bring your BC ID.

- **Campus Ministry** Their offices are located in McElroy 233 and their phone number is (617)552-3475. You can visit their web site at bc.edu/offices/ministry and email them at ministry@bc.edu.